

REPUBULIKA Y'U RWANDA



KOMISIYO Y'IGIHUGU Y'AMATORA

UBURERE MBONERAGIHUGU KU MATORA MU RWANDA



NZERI 2002

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KU MATORA MU RWANDA**

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IRIBURIRO

U Rwanda ni kimwe mu bihugu byabonye ubwigenge ariko bitagize amahirwe yo kugira ubuyobozi bwiza. Amateka y'u Rwanda agaragaza ko abaturage batagiye bagira uruhare rusesuye mu kwishyiriraho abayobozi. Ingaruka z'ubwo buyobozi zabaye guhoza abaturage mu bujiji, mu bukene no mu macakubiri yaje kugeza igihugu ku mahano y'itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba yo muri 1994.

Mu rwego rwo guhindura iyo miyoborere, Guverinoma y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yasanze imiyoborere ibereye igihugu ari ishingiyeye kuri politiki y'ubuyobozi butangwa n'abaturage, bishyiriraho abayobozi, babaha inshingano kandi bakabagenzura mu byo bashinzwe.

Kugira ngo iyo ntego ishobore kugerwaho, ni ngombwa ko hashyirwaho gahunda yo kwigisha abaturage n'abayobozi b'ingeri zose kugira ngo bahindure imyumvire n'imikorere byabo bagamije guteza imbere igihugu cyabo.

Iki gitabo cyateguwe na Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Amatora gikubiyemo inyigisho z'uburere mboneragihugu kuri demokarasi n'amatora, kikaba kiziye igihe kubera ko inyigisho zigikubiyemo zizafasha abaturarwanda kurushaho gucengerwa n'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu, umuco wo gukunda igihugu, amahame ya demokarasi n'uruhare rwabo mu kwishyiriraho abayobozi binyuze mu matora.

Ni yo mpamvu dusabye inzego zose zinyuranye zaba iza Leta, iz'Abaterankunga n'iz'Imiryango Nyarwanda itegamiye kuri Leta, kwitabira iyi gahunda y'inyigisho z'uburere mboneragihugu kugira ngo izashobore gushyirwa mu bikorwa no gushimangira inzira ya demokarasi,

Bikorewe i Kigali, ku wa 16 Nzeri 2002.

Paul KAGAME



Perezida wa Repuburika y'u Rwanda

IJAMBO RY'IBANZE

Kuva Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Amatora ishyizweho n'Itegeko Nshinga nk'uko biteganywa mu ngingo ya 24-C y'Amasezerano y'Amahoro y'Arusha mu gice cyerekeye igabana ry'ubutegetsi, nk'uko kandi itegeko n° 39/2000 ryo ku wa 28 Ugushyingo 2000 ritunganya imiterere n'imikorere bya Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Amatora ribiteganywa mu ngingo yaryo ya 4, imwe mu nshingano nkuru Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Amatora yahawe ni ugutegura no gutanga inyigisho mboneragihugu mu birebana n'amatora mu Rwanda.

Mu gushyira mu bikorwa iyo nshingano, Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Amatora yatanze inyigisho z'ibanze ku mahame ya demokarasi, ku burenganzira bwo gutora no gutorwa, ku ruhare rw'abaturage mu kwitorera abayobozi no kugenzura imikorere yabo n'uruhare rwabo mu bikorwa by'amatora. Izindi nyigisho zatanze ni izijyanye no gukangurira abaturage amatora y'abayobozi b'Uturere, Imijyi n'Umuji wa Kigali yo kuwa ku wa 06 kugeza ku wa 13 Weruwe 2001 n'ay'abayobozi b'Utugari n'Imirenge yo ku wa 25 na 26 Weruwe 2002. Mu gutegura ayo matora, inyigisho z'uburere mboneragihugu zibanze ku gusobanura uburyo amatora azakorwa, n'ibisabwa abaturage n'abayobozi b'inzego zitandukanye mu bikorwa by'amatora.

Muri rusange, amatora yateguwe yagenze neza ariko ikigaragara nu uko abaturarwanda bagikeneye gusobanukirwa bihagije impamvu amatora ategurwa n'uko akorwa, uburyo bushoboka butandukanye kandi bunoze bw'amatora, inshingano z'abatora n'abatorwa haba igihe cy'itora cyangwa nyuma yacyo, uburenganzira bwa buri wese n'ibindi. Ibyo byose bishimangira imyumvire myiza ya demokarasi bitangwa mu nyigisho z'uburere mboneragihugu ku matora.

Ni yo mpamvu Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Amatora yagize igitekerezo cyo gushyiraho gahunda ihamye y'inyigisho z'uburere mboneragihugu ku matora zajya zigishwa abaturarwanda kugira ngo barushaho gukangukirwa na demokarasi ibacengere.

Kugira ngo ibyo bigerweho, Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Amatora yifashishije Umuryango Nyamerika wazobereye mu by'amatora (IFES), ku nkunga ya USAID, yateguye inama nyunguranabitekerezo ku nyigisho z'uburere mboneragihugu ku matora mu Rwanda, yatangijwe ku mugaragaro na Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repuburika, ku wa 15 Gicurasi 2002, muri Hôtel des Mille Collines, isozwa ku mugaragaro na Nyakubahwa Minisiteri w'Intebe, ku wa 18 Gicurasi 2002. Iyo nama yari yitabiriwe n'abagize inzego z'ingeri zitandukanye b'Abanyarwanda n'Abanyamahanga, yagaragaje ingingo z'ingenzi zikwiye kwitabwaho muri gahunda y'inyigisho z'uburere mboneragihugu ku matora mu Rwanda, ibizikubiyemo ndetse n'abagomba kugira uruhare mu kwigisha uburere mboneragihugu ku matora mu Rwanda.

Ibitekerezo byatangiye muri iyo nama y'ingirakamaro ni byo Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Amatora yashingiyeho isaba inzego zinyuranye, iza Leta, iz'ibigo bya Leta n'iz'imiryango itegamiye kuri Leta zari zagenwe n'inama, gutegura inyandiko zikwiye gushyirwa mu nyigisho z'uburere mboneragihugu ku matora mu Rwanda. Ibi byakozwe guhera tariki ya 25 kugeza ku ya 29 Gicurasi 2002. Ni byo yahereyeho kandi, ifatanyije n'abateguye inyandiko z'ibanze, ishaka impuguke muri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda i Butare,

Ikigo cy'Ubushakashatsi n'Ikoranabuhanga (IRST), Komisiyo y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye na Minisiteri y'Uburezi Ubumenyi, Ikoranabuhanga n'Ubushakashatsi ; impuguke zahurije hamwe inyandiko zose zari zateguwe zizikuramo umushinga w'igitabo cy'inyigisho ku burere mboneragihugu ku matora mu Rwanda, waje kunonosorwa wemezwa n'inama nyunguranabitekerezo yatumiye na Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Amatora ku wa 13 na 14 Kanama 2002 muri Centre IWACU-Kabusunzu.

Birashimishije rero ko inzego zitandukanye, iza Leta n'Imiryango Nyarwanda itegamiye kuri Leta , zumvikanye kandi zigategurira hamwe gahunda y'Uburere Mboneragihugu ku matora mu Rwanda. Ni ikimenyetso cy'intambwe imaze guterwa kandi ikwiye gukomeza gushimangirwa mu mikoranire y'Abanyarwanda no mu myumvire y'uko inzego za Leta n'Imiryango Nyarwanda itegamiye kuri Leta bigomba kuzuzanya mu gushaka icyo ari cyo cyose cyateza imbere igihugu nk'abasenyera umugozi umwe.

Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Amatora iboneyeho umwanya wo gushirira inzego zose zagize uruhare mu gutuma intego yo gutegeza gahunda y'inyigisho z'uburere Mboneragihugu ku matora mu Rwanda igerwaho. By'umwihariko irashimira Minisiteri y'Ubutabera n'Imikoranire y'Inzego, Minisitiri y'Urubyiruko , Siporo n'Umuco , Kaminuza y'u Rwanda, Ikigo cy'Ubushakashatsi n'Ikoranabuhanga (IRST), Komisiyo y'Uburenganzira bw'Ikiremwa muntu, CCOAIB, PRO-FEMMES TWESE HAMWE, CLADHO, ndetse n'amashami ya Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Amatora kubera uruhare izo nzego zagize mu gutegeza inyandiko fatizo zabaye umusingi w'iki gitabo.

Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Amatora irashimira kandi ikipe y'impuguke zatanze na Minisiteri y'Uburezi, Ubumenyi, Ikoranabuhanga n'Ubushakashatsi, Kaminuza y'u Rwanda , Ikigo cy'Ubushakashatsi n'Ikoranabuhanga na Komisiyo y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye kubera ubuhanga, ubushishozi n'umurava yateguranye umushinga wabyaye iki gitabo kimwe n'abandi bese bagize uruhare kugira ngo bigerweho.

Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Amatora irashimira byimazeyo Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repuburika na Minisitiri w'Intebe kubera uruhare bagize kugira ngo iyi gahunda y'Uburere Mboneragihugu ibashe kugerwaho ikaba kandi inabasaba inkunga ihagije kugira ngo izashyirwe mu bikorwa uko bikwiye.

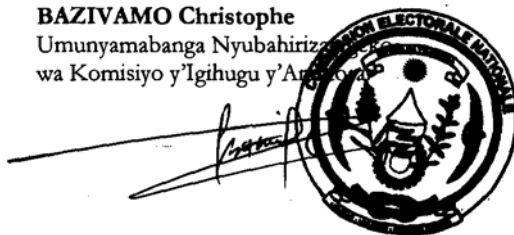
Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Amatora yizeye ko iki gitabo kizagira uruhare rukomeye mu guhindura imyumvire, imikorere ndetse n'imibereho muri demokarasi nyayo kuko ari cyo fatizo y'inyigisho z'uburere mboneragihugu ku matora zigenewe Abanyarwanda kandi kizifashishwa n'abifuza bese kugira uruhare muri iyi gahunda.

Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Amatora yizeye kandi ko inyigisho z'ibanze zikubiye muri iki gitabo zizafasha abatubwira kurushaho gusobanukirwa n'ibikorwa by'amatora binyuranye kugira ngo bajye batora bazi neza iryo bakora kandi n'amatora bagizemo uruhare arushaho kugenda neza. Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Amatora ibona kandi ko Abanyarwanda nibamara gucengerwa n'inyigisho z'uburere mboneragihugu ku matora, bitoroshya imyiteguro y'igikorwa cy'amatora bigatuma amatora ahenduka, bityo akajya ashoboka kenshi bitavunanye, akamenyerwa na demokarasi igashyamba imizi.

Bikorewe i Kigali, ku wa 9 Nzeri 2002.

BAZIVAMO Christophe

Umunyamabanga Nyubahiriza
wa Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Abanyarwanda



1. INTANGIRIRO

Iki gitabo cyerekeye uburere mboneragihugu ku matora mu Rwanda. Intego nkuru yacyo ni ukwigisha buri Munyarwanda kuba mu gihugu cye bitunganye.

Muri rusange, Umunyarwanda wese akwiye gusobanukirwa n'uburenganzira n'inshingano bye nk'umwenegihugu, bigamije kumenya, gukunda no kubaka igihugu cye mu bumwe no mu bwubahane bisesuye.

Ku buryo bw'umwihariko, nyuma y'itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba byagwiririyeye u Rwanda mu wa 1994, birakwiye ko Abanyarwanda b'ingeri zose bahabwa inyigisho z'uburere mboneragihugu. Ubwo burere mboneragihugu butezweho gufasha abaturarwanda guhindura kandi bubaka byinshi mu mitekerezereze, mu myumvire, mu myifatire, mu mikorere no mu mibereho yabo ya buri muni.

Izi nyigisho z'uburere mboneragihugu zizafasha abaturage kumva neza agaciro k'umuntu nk'ikiremhamuntu gifite uburenganzira n'inshingano ntavogerwa; agaciro gahimbazwa n'ubwenegihugu n'umuco nyarwanda biha Umunyarwanda ubunyarwanda n'ubumuntu.

Ubwo rero inyigisho z'uburere mboneragihugu zizatuma abaturarwanda barushaho kumva uruhare bafite mu miyoborere y'igihugu cyabo; barusheho kumva ko kugira ngo iyo miyoborere ibe myiza igomba kuba ishingiyeye kuri demokarasi nyakuri ibereye u Rwanda nk'uburyo bwo kuyobora igihugu, ariko tutirengagije amateka yacyo cyangwa ngo twiyibagize ko, muri demokarasi, amatora mu mucyo no mu bwisanzure ari umwe mu miyoboro y'ingenzi ya demokarasi.

Mu gutegura iki gitabo gikubiyemo inyigisho z'uburere mboneragihugu ku matora mu Rwanda hakoreshejwe uburyo bukurikira:

- Kuva tariki ya 15 kugeza tariki ya 18 Gicurasi 2002, Komisiyo y'igihugu y'Amatora ifatanyije na IFES (International Foundation for Electoral System) yakoresheje inama nyunguranabitekerezo ku burere mboneragihugu ku matora mu Rwanda muri Hôtel des Mille Collines. Iyo nama yagaragaje ingingo z'ingenzi n'ibizikubiyemo ku burere mboneragihugu ku matora mu Rwanda kimwe n'abakwiye kugira uruhare mu gutanga inyigisho z'uburere mboneragihugu ku matora mu Rwanda. Muri iyo nama kandi hateguwe gahunda ikwiye kwitabwaho kugira ngo izo nyigisho zigere ku bo zigenewe.
- Kuva ku ya 25/05/2002 kugeza ku ya 29/05/2002, Komisiyo y'igihugu y'Amatora yashatse abategura inyigisho ku burere mboneragihugu ku matora mu Rwanda ishingiyeye ku bitekerezo byavuye mu nama yavuzwe haruguru.
- Ku ya 19/06/2002 habaye inama ku cyicaro cya Komisiyo y'igihugu y'Amatora yo guhuriza hamwe inyigisho zateguwe ku burere

mboneragihugu ndetse hashyirwaho akanama k'impuguke zizanoza inyigisho z'uburere mboneragihugu mu gihe cy'ukwezi, kuva ku ya 26/06/2002 kugeza ku ya 25/07/2002.

- Kuri 13 na 14 Kanama 2002, Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Amatora yatumiye indi nama nyunguranabitekerezo yo gusuzuma inyandiko uko zanonosowe , irazinenga, irazikosora irazuzuzura mbere yo kuzemeza .
- Kuva ku ya 21 kugeza ku ya 22 Kamena 2002 habaye inama ya nyuma y'impuguke na Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Amatora yo kunonosora burundu inyandiko y'uburere mboneragihugu ku matora mu Rwanda, ari yo igize iki gitabo.

Ibice by'ingenzi bigize iki gitabo ni ibi bikurikira:

- Uburere mboneragihugu
- Uburenganzira n'inshingano by'ikiremhamuntu
- Ubwenegihugu
- Umuco
- Imiyoborere myiza
- Demokarasi
- Amateka y'u Rwanda
- Amatora

Buri gice kibanzirizwa n'intangiriro irimo igisobanuro cyacyo, kikarangizwa n'umusozi n'indanganyandiko zifashishijwe.

1. UBURERE MBONERAGIHUGU

Iki gitabo gikubiyemo ibijyanye n'uburere mboneragihugu ku matora mu Rwanda. Ariko kubera ko uburere mboneragihugu ubwabwo muri rusange budasobanutse bihagije ku Banyarwanda, twasanze ari ngombwa kubanza kubusobanura muri iki gice cya mbere.

Ijambo "Uburere mboneragihugu" ryahinduwe mu kinyarwanda bahereye ku magambo « Civic education » na « Education civique » y'icyongereza n'igifaransa.

Uburere mboneragihugu ni urwunge rw'inyigisho n'ibikorwa bigenerwa abenegihugu kugira ngo bagire imyumvire, imyifatire n'imikorere bibafasha guteza imbere igihugu cyabo.

Uburere mboneragihugu buhera mu muryango maze bugakomereza mu ishuri no mu zindi nzego z'imibereho. Uburyo buruta ubundi uburere mboneragihugu bukoresha ni ubushingiye ku rugero rwiza urerwa arebera ku babyeyi, abarezi n'abayobozi. Aba ubundi ni bo babarizwaho umuco ubereye igihugu.

Muri iki gice, harasuzumwa izi ngingo zikurikira:

- ibikubiye mu burere mboneragihugu muri rusange
- ibikubiye mu burere mboneragihugu ku matora.

1.1. Ibikubiye mu burere mboneragihugu muri rusange

Mu Rwanda, intego z'uburere mboneragihugu zikubiye mu mahame *y'ubumwe, umurimo no gukunda igihugu* nk'uko bigaragazwa n'ibirango bya Repuburika y'u Rwanda.

« Ubumwe: Abanyarwanda bose bibumbiye hamwe, bagize umwe kandi batahiriza umugozi umwe. »

"Umurimo: gukorera mu mucyo no kurwanya ubujiji."

"Gukunda igihugu: kukirinda, Abanyarwanda bose hamwe, mu bumwe barinze, ubusugire bw'igihugu cyabo kandi biteguye kukirengera». (Igazeti ya Leta numero idasanzwe yo ku wa 31/12/2001:14)

Uburere mboneragihugu bugaragarira mu mitekerereze, imyumvire, imyifatire, n'imikorere y'umwenegihugu muri politiki zinyuranye: ubumwe n'ubwiyunge, ubuyobozi, imibereho myiza, iterambere muri rusange, ubutabera n'ububanyi n'amahanga.

Mu magambo avunaguye, inyigisho z'uburere mboneragihugu zigirira abaturage akamaro gakurikira:

- zituma abaturage bunguka ubumenyi bushya ku bwo bari bafite mu mitekerereze mu myumvire y'ibintu, mu myifatire no mu mikorere, mu nzira zinyuranye no mu bihe bitandukanye by'ubuzima bwabo;
- zibongerera ubumenyi butuma bigirira icyizere, bagatinyuka kugira uruhare rugaragara mu bikorwa byose byubaka bibera mu gihugu cyabo

- zituma kandi bashobora gusobanukirwa n'inshingano n'uburenganzira byabo ari na byo bibafasha guha agaciro ikiremamuntu n'ibikorwa byacyo byubaka umuryango w'Abanyarwanda.

1.2. Uburere mboneragihugu ku matora

Uburere mboneragihugu ku matora ni gahunda y'inyigisho n'ibikorwa bigenewe abaturage bigamije kuzuza uburere mboneragihugu bwabo, mu bijyanye n'amatora nk'inzira ya demokarasi.

Uburere mboneragihugu ku matora ni ihuriro ry'inyigisho n'ibikorwa zigenewe utora, utorwa n'utoresha, kugira ngo bamenye kandi basobanukirwe neza n'iby'amatora bagomba kugiramo uruhare rugaragara.

Uburere mboneragihugu ku matora bureba uburenganzira bw'abaturage n'inshingano zabo ku byerekeye amatora nk'uko Itegeko Nshinga igihugu kigenderaho ribiteganywa.

Kubera ko umuturage afite uburenganzira busesuye ahabwa n'Itegeko Nshinga bwo kwitorera abamuhagararira mu nzego zinyuranye z'ubuyobozi kandi akaba atagomba kubuvutswa cyangwa ngo na we abuvutse abandi, uburere mboneragihugu ku matora bumufasha gusobanukirwa n'ishingiro ry'iri hame rya demokarasi.

Inyigisho z'uburere mboneragihugu ku matora zizafasha abaturage muri rusange kumva no gusobanukirwa na demokarasi nyakuri. Zizabafasha kumenya ko demokarasi nk'inzira y'ubutegetsi, ari **«ubutegetsi bw'abaturage, buturuka ku baturage kandi bukorera abaturage»**; zizabereka ko mu Rwanda demokarasi yigishijwe nabi, ikumvikana nabi, amahame yayo agakoreshwa nabi mu buryo bunyuranyije n'amahame ya demokarasi nyakuri.

Inyigisho z'uburere mboneragihugu ku matora zizagirira abaturage akamaro kuko zizabereka ko demokarasi ibereye u Rwanda ari uburyo bw'imiyoborere bubafasha kumenya ibibazo bafite no gufatanywa kubishakira umuti ujyanye n'igihe.

Abaturage bazasobanukirwa ko, kugira ngo demokarasi igerweho kandi ishingira imizi mu gihugu, bagomba kugira ijamba n'urubuga rwo gutangiramo ibitekerezo urubuga bavugiramo bakanacoceramo ibibazo, ari na ko bashakira hamwe umuti wabyo.

Muri rusange, uburere mboneragihugu ku matora bufasha utora, utorwa n'utoresha gusobanukirwa n' imiterere, imikorere n' imikoranire by' inzego zinyuranye za Leta, zaba izatowe cyangwa izashyizweho, kandi bugashimangira imyumvire y'uko Guverinoma igomba gukorera abaturage, atari abaturage bakorera Guverinoma.

Uburere mboneragihugu ku matora bubereye umutururwanda ni inyigisho ku matora zimufasha gusobanukirwa neza n'ibijyanye n'ubuyobozi bushingiye ku mahame shingiro ya demokarasi : ni ukuvuga kumenya imiterere y'inzego z'ubuyobozi n'imikorere yazo,

inshingano n'uburenganzira by'abazitorewe, inshingano n'uburenganzira bye nk'uwagize uruhare mu kubatora.

Uburere mboneragihugu ku matora buzafasha abaturage kumva neza impamvu bagomba kugira uruhare mu kwitorera abayobozi bashoboye, badatsindiriwe n'urwego urwo ari rwo rwose, kandi bakabikora mu mucyo no mu bwisanzure, badashingiye ku marangamutima ayo ari yo yose, bakanumva kandi ko kwishyiriraho ababahagararira mu nzego z'ubuyobozi ubwabyo bidahagije, ahubwo ko bagomba no gukurikirana imikorere yabo no kubafasha kugira ngo abo batoye bashobore kurangiza neza imirimo babashinze.

Uburere mboneragihugu butanga amahame shingiro afasha mu gusobanura neza impamvu utora agomba kugira uruhare rugaragara mu kwitegurira amatora, yitabira kwiwandikisha kuri lisiti y'itora, agira uruhare mu gutoranya no mu kwemeza abazatorwamo abayobozi, yitabira inama zikangurira abaturage iby'amatora n'iz'abakandida biyamamarizamo, yitabira kandi igikorwa mboneragihugu cyo kwitorera, mu mucyo no mu bwisanzure, abazamuhagararira mu nzego zinyuranye z'ubuyobozi bw'igihugu cye.

Uburere mboneragihugu ku matora bubereye utora ni ubumufasha kugira, gukunda no gukuza umuco wo guha agaciro imitekerereze n'imikorere y'abaturage, hagamijwe kubatoza gukorera mu mucyo, kwihanganirana no kugira umuco wo kwemera ibyavuye mu matora mu gihe yakozwe yubahirije amategeko, cyane cyane mu gihe abiyamamariza imyanya runaka akenshi bashingira ku bitekerezo n'imyumvire bitandukanye amashyamba n'imitwe ya politiki byabo bishingiyeho.

Inyigisho z'uburere mboneragihugu ku matora zituma utora asobanukirwa n'uko amatora ategurwa n'uko ayoborwa; akamenya ibikenerwa mu matora aho bituruka n'uko biboneka, kugira ngo agire uruhare mu kubifata neza, bityo amatora ashobore kugenda neza.

Muri make rero, uburere mboneragihugu bukwiye kwigishwa abaturage mu nzego zinyuranye kuko bubafasha kumenya no gusobanukirwa neza na politiki zinyuranye z'igihugu zigamije kubageza ku majyambere arambye. Uburere mboneragihugu ku matora buzatuma abiyamamaza bashyira imbere inyungu z'abaturage aho gushyira imbere inyungu zabo bwite. Mu kwiyamamaza, abakandida bazashingira ku bitekerezo byubaka igihugu nibaba baracengewe n'uburere mboneragihugu.

Uburere mboneragihugu buzatuma abatora bamenya uruhare rwabo mu kwitorera mu mucyo no mu bwisanzure abayobozi bashoboye kandi ko bagomba gukurikirana imikorere yabo kugira ngo abo batoye bashobore kurangiza neza imirimo babashinze.

INDANGANYANDIKO

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- 2) Independent Electoral Commission, **Voter Education Training Manual, Municipal elections**, Pretoria, 2000.
- 3) Komisiyo Ishinzwe gutegura Itegeko Nshinga n'Ivugurura ry'andi Mategeko **Ibitekerezo by'Ingenzi ku Itegeko Nshinga**, Kigali, Mutarama 2002.
- 4) MINALOC, **Ibiganiro bigenewe Inzego z'Ibanze**, Kigali Nyakanga 2000.
- 5) Perezidansi ya Repuburika, **Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda mbere y'abazungu igihe cy'ubukoroni no mu gihe cya Repuburika ya mbere**, Kigali, 1999.
- 6) Phiroshaw C. & Gordon J. A., **Codes of election conduct**, Johannesburg Core, 1997.
- 7) Phiroshaw C. & Gordon J. A., **Election Education**, Johannesburg, Core, 1997.
- 8) The government Printer, **Electoral Commission**, Gaborone, 1999.

2. UBURENGANZIRA N'INSHINGANO BY' IKIREMWAMUNTU

Uburenganzira n'inshingano by'ikiremhamuntu ni urusobe mu bwuzuzanye rw'uburenganzira n'ubwigenge byemerewe buri muntu wese bigamije kumuhesha agaciro, kumufasha kubana n'abandi mu busabane, kugira imibereho myiza no kumurinda kuvogerwa, ariko na we ntavogere abandi.

Uburenganzira n'inshingano by'ikiremhamuntu biranditse kandi byashyizwe mu bitabo by'amategeko, yaba ayo mu rwego rw'igihugu, cyangwa amategeko mpuzamahanga. Byemerwa kandi bikarererwa n'ibihugu bigendera ku mategeko, ni ukuvuga ibihugu bigengwa n'amategeko buri wese agomba kubahiriza, yaba umuturage usanzwe, yaba umuyobozi w'urwego urwo ari rwo rwose, yabirengaho akabihanirwa.

Iki gice kigizwe n'izi ngingo zikurikira

- Amavu n'amavuko yo guharanira uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu
- Ishingiro n'amahameremezo by'uburenganzira by'ikiremhamuntu
- Inzego z'uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu
- Inshingano zijyana n'uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu
- Inzego zishinzwe iyubahirizwa ry'uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu.
- Inzitizi mu kubahiriza uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu
- Ingamba zo kubahiriza uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu.

2.1. Amavu n'amavuko yo guharanira uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu

Iyubahirizwa ry'uburenganzira bwa muntu ryashishikajwe abantu kuva kera cyane, mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu. Ibyo tubigezwaho n'uruhererekanyemvugo rw'amateka ndetse n'inyandiko z'impuguke. Inyandiko zasohotse mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu ku burenganzira tuzisanga mu bitabo binyuranye: Bibiliya, igitabo cy'amategeko ya Hamurabi, Ikorwani n'ibindi.

Izo nyandiko zavugaga akamaro k'uburinganire, ubwubahane no kugirira mugenzi wawe akamaro; ziragenda zikageza mu kinyejana cya 17. Muri icyo kinyejana, kuri 13 Gashyantare mu wa 1689, ni ho Abongereza basohoye umushinga w'itegeko bise « Bill of Rights », ni ukuvuga itegeko ku burenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu. Icyo gihe bashakaga kugabanya ububasha bw'umwami wabo wari warihaye uburenganzira busesuye ku buzima bw'abantu n'imitungo yabo.

Mu binyejana bya 18, 19 na 20, habayeho ibikorwa byinshi bigamije guharanira iyubahirizwa ry'ikiremhamuntu. Zimwe mu ngero zifatika ni izi zikurikira:

- Mu wa 1776, abaturage ba Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika bikuye ku ngoyi y'ubukoroni bw'Abongereza. Nyuma gato, mu wa 1791, bavuguruye itegeko nshinga ryabo bashyiraho ingingo zibanda ku burenganzira bw'Umunyamerika.
- Mu wa 1789, impinduramatwara y'Abafaransa yaje igamije guharanira uburenganzira bw'Umufaransa. Kugira ngo bagabanye ingufu z'umwami wabo na we wari wihariye ubutegetsi bwose, barabutandukanyije. Ni bwo bashyizeho ubutegetsi

nyubahirizategeko, nshingamategeko n'ubucamanza. Ntibarekeye aho kuko ku wa 26.08.1789 basohoye itangazo rigizwe n'ingingo 17 zijyanye n'uburenganzira bw'Umufaransa.

- Mu wa 1815, habayeho imyigaragambyo y'abacakara muri Amerika no mu Bufaransa.
- Mu myaka ya 1830, mu bihugu byinshi havutse amashyirahamwe aharanira uburenganzira ku mibereho, ku bukungu no ku muco : mu Buhindi, Irilande, Liberiya n'ahandi.
- Mu wa 1917, impinduramatwara y'Abarusiya yatumye basohora inyandiko iharanira ku buryo busesuye uburenganzira bw'abakozi n'ubw'abaturage muri rusange kuko bari bakandamijwe.
- Nyuma gato y'Intambara ya Kabiri y'Isi yose, ku wa 10 Ukuboza 1948, ni bwo hashyizwe umukono ku itangazo mpuzamahanga ry'uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu rigizwe n'ingingo 30.
- Mu wa 1947, mu Rwanda Umwami Mutara wa III Rudahigwa yaciye ikiboko n'uburetwa.
- Mu myaka ya 1950 muri Aziya habayeho intambara n'imyigaragambyo byo kwibohora. Ni na bwo ibihugu byinshi by' Afurika byabonye ubwigenge. Naho muri Amerika, abirabura barwaniraga uburenganzira mu rwego rwa politiki n'urw'imbenezamubano bayobowe na Martin Luther King.
- Mu wa 1954, mu Rwanda umwami Mutara wa III Rudahigwa yaciye ubuhake.

Nyuma y'aho, hari n'imiryango cyangwa ibihugu byagiye bigira uruhare mu kurwanya ibikorwa by'abantu bagize uruhare mu ihohoterwa ry'ikiremhamuntu.

Ingero:

- 1998 : Hisipaniya yafashe icyemezo cyo gutanga uwahoze ari Perezida wa Chili, umunyagitugu Generali Pinochet ngo acirwe urubanza.
 - Amnesty International n'Abaganga Batagira Umupaka (Médecins Sans Frontières) zahawe ibihembo byitiriwe Nobel (1976/1999) kubera uruhare iyo miryango yagize mu iyubahirizwa ry'uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu.
- 2000: umunyagitugu Hissen Habré, wahoze ari Perezida wa Cadi, inkiko zasanze yarakoze ibikorwa bya kinyamaswa akatirwa igifungo adahari, nyuma y'aho Nelson Mandela we yavanwaga mu buroko agahita atorerwa kuyobora Afurika y'Epfo mu wa 1990.

Uretse ingero dutanze, hari izindi nyinshi mu mateka zigaragaza uburyo ibihugu n'imiryango byagiye byerekana ubushake , bwo guharanira uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu, haba mu bikorwa cyangwa mu nyandiko.

Mu biganiriro n'inyandiko z'ingenzi twavugaga nka:

- 1906 : Ibihugu byinshi byumvikanye ku kvanaho akazi ka nijoro ku bategarugori mu nganda.

- 1924 : i Genève mu Busuwisi hasohotse itangazo ku burenganzira bw'umwana. Ubwo burenganzira bwagarutswaho mu itangazo ry'Umuryango w'Abibumbye mu wa 1989.
- 1926: Inama mpuzamahanga y'i Genève yasohoye itangazo rivanaho ubucakara.
- 1948 : Hasohotse itangazo mpuzamahanga ku burenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu.

Kuva mu wa 1948 kugeza mu wa 1970: Umuryango Mpuzamahanga ku Murimo (OIT) wasohoye amatangazo avuga ku bwisanzure bw'umukozi n'iyubahirizwa ry'uburenganzira bwe ku kazi.

Naho mu wa 1979, Umuryango w'Abibumbye wasohoye itangazo ku burenganzira mu mibereho y'abaturage, ubukungu n'umuco n'irindi ku iyamagana ry'ivangura ryose rikorerwa abakobwa n' abagore.

Muri za 1990-96, habayeho inama nyinshi ku rwego rw'isi ku bibazo by'uburere, ibidukikije, amajyambere, ubwenegihugu, umukobwa n'umugore, uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu, amashyirahamwe y'abantu n'ibindi.

Mu wa 1998, i Roma mu Butaliyani humvikanywe ku mategeko azagenga urukiko mpanabyaha ku rwego mpuzamahanga.

Mu wa 1999, Umuryango Mpuzamahanga ku Murimo (OIT) wasohoye itangazo ryamagana akazi k'ingufu n'agahato ku bana.

Ibi biganirwa n'inyandiko ku burenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu byatejwe imbere n'amashyirahamwe mpuzamahanga yagiye avuka. Azwi cyane ni:

- Save the Children, Umuryango w'Abongereza ugamije kurengera abana batagira kivurira
- Komite y'uburenganzira bw'abakozi (O.I.T.) : 1950
- Komisiyo y'uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu mu Burayi (1954&1959) no muri Amerika (1960)
- Amnesty International (1961)
- Komisiyo y'uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu ya OUA (1963)
- Ishami ry'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ryita ku burenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu (1993)
- Urukiko Mpuzamahanga ku cyahoze ari Yugosilaviya no ku Rwanda ku birebana n'itsembabwoko n'ibindi byaha byibasiye inyokomuntu (1993-1994).

Uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu bwatejwe kandi imbere n'Amasezerano Mpuzamahanga y'uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu mu Muryango w'Abibumbye (1966).

Mu Rwanda na ho, mu myaka ya 1990 hagiye havuka amashyirahamwe y'uburenganzira bw' ikiremhamuntu, ari na yo yaje kwibumbira hamwe agashinga impuzamiryango yiswe CLADHO.

Ariko kandi ibi bikorwa ntibyabujije ko mu kinyejana cya 20 hakorwa ibikorwa bya kinyamaswa byahohoteye bikomeye uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu. Twavugaga nka

- Intambara ya mbere (1914- 1918) n' iya kabiri (1939-1945) z' Isi yose
- Itsembabwoko ry'Abanyarumeniya (1915), Abayahudi (1939-1945)
- Itsembabwoko n' itsembatsemba mu Rwanda (1994).
- Intambara hirya no hino ku Isi (Irani, Iraki, Ikigobe cya Perse)
- Ifungwa n' ihohoterwa ry' abantu mu ntambara
- Ishyirwa ry'abana mu gisirikare
- Ihohoterwa n'ifatwa ku ngufu by'abana, abakobwa n'abagore.

2.2. Ishingiro n'amahameremezo by'uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu

Uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu ntibutangwa, ntibugurwa, ntibugabanywa, ntibuhakirwa, nta n'ubwo ari umurage w'ababyeyi cyangwa w'umuntu uwo ari we wese; uburenganzira bw' ikiremhamuntu bugirwa na buri wese kandi tubuhabwa nyine na kamere muntu tuvukana.

Uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu ni bumwe ku bantu bose hatarebwe ubwoko bwabo, igitsina, idini, ururimi bavuka, ibara ry'uruhu, umutungo bafite, ubwenegihugu, icyiciro cy'abaturage bavukamo, ibitekerezo byabo, byaba ibya politiki cyangwa ibindi. Abantu bose iyo bava bakagera bavuka bigenga kandi bareshya mu cyubahiro n'imbere y'amategeko.

Nta mpamvu n'imwe igomba gutuma hagira uwamburwa uburenganzira bw' ikiremhamuntu. Abantu bafite uburenganzira, kabone n'ubwo amategeko y'ibihugu byabo yaba atabibemerera cyangwa yaba abuhungabanya.

Kugira ngo abantu bose babeho mu cyubahiro bagomba kugira uburenganzira bukurikira, nta na bumwe bushyizwe iruhande: kwishyira ukizana, kugira umutekano no kugira imibereho myiza. Uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu ntibugabanywa, ntibushyirwa inyuma.

Uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu bushimangirwa n'amategeko. Ayo mategeko ni:

- Amatangazo n'amasezerano mpuzamahanga ibihugu biba byaremeye bikanayashyiraho umukono.

Ingero:

- Itangazo mpuzamahanga ryerekeye uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu ryo ku wa 10 Ukuboza 1948 u Rwanda rwarishyizeho umukono ku wa 18 Nzeri 1962, bityo riba ryinjijwe mu mategeko y'u Rwanda
- Amasezerano y'Afurika yerekeye uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu n'ubw'abaturage; u Rwanda rwayemeye ku wa 17 Gicurasi 1973, ku wa 11 Ugushyingo 1981 ruyinjiza mu mategeko rugenderaho
- Amasezerano yerekeye uburenganzira bw'umwana; u Rwanda rwayemeye kimwe n'ibindi bihugu ku wa 20 Ugushyingo 1989, rutangira kuyakurikiza tariki ya 02 Nzeri 1990.
- Itegeko rihana ivangura no gukurura amacakabiri.

- Amategeko igihugu cyishyiriraho arengera uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu.

Ingero:

- Itegeko Nshinga rya Repuburika y'u Rwanda ryo ku wa 10 Kamena 1991, mu ngingo zaryo guhera ku ya 12 kugeza ku ya 33
- Itegeko rigenga imicungire y'umutungo w'abashyiranywe, impano n'izungura, rirengerwa ku buryo bw'umwihariko uburenganzira bwa buri wese mu bagize umuryango (umugabo, umugore n'abana) ku mutungo w'urugo
- Itegeko rirengerwa uburenganzira bw'umwana n'uburyo bwo kumurinda ihohoterwa.
- Itegeko rihana ivangura no gukurura amacakubiri.

Indi soko y'uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu ni urusobe rw'ingingo ndemagaciro zigize umuco. Hari ingingo z'umuco nyarwanda zishimangira uburenganzira bwa muntu n'izindi ingingo z'umuco zibangamira uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu.

Ingero:

- Izibushimangira:
 - Kugira umutungo bwite
 - Kugira uburenganzira bwo gushaka
 - Kutica umwana cyangwa umugore mu ntambara
 - "Intumwa irarabirwa ntiyicwa"
 - "Nyir'umuringa iyo aje utega ukuboko"
 - "Amafuti y'umugabo ni bwo buryo bwe".
- Izibubangamira
 - Kwica urubozo umushimusi w' inka
 - Kuroha umukobwa watwaye inda y'indaro
 - "Inkeho ikubirwa mu kwayo"
 - "Intare ikwicira inka ikakurusha kurakara"
 - "Imfubyi irya akayo ikibye".

Imyumvire y'uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu ishingiyeye ku mahameremezo akurikira:

- Agaciro karuta byose ka muntu
- Kureshya kw'abantu mu gaciro no mu burenganzira
- Ukwishyira ukizana (ubwisanzure cyangwa ubwigenge)
- Guharanira buri gihe kugira imibereho myiza
- Ubusabane.

• Agaciro karuta byose ka muntu

Agaciro karuta byose ka muntu ni icyubahiro gifitwe na buri wese nk'ikiremhamuntu. Umuntu, kubera kamere ye, avukana ubwigenge n'icyubahiro ntagereranywa akomora kuri iyo kamere. Ako gaciro ni ntagereranywa kubera ko nta kindi kiremwa tuzi gisumba umuntu ku isi. Umuntu rero ubuze ako gaciro aba abuze ikintu cy'ingenzi mu mibereho

ye. Agaciro ntagereranywa ka muntu kagaragarira mu cyubahiro ahabwa no ku buryo abandi bamubona cyangwa se bamufata.

Urugero: Kirazira rwose gukorera ubushakashatsi ku bantu mu gihe batabyiyemereye bo ubwabo cyangwa mu gihe bishobora kubagiraho ingaruka zikomeye.

Mu myumvire rero y'uburenganzira bwa muntu tugomba kumenya ko buri muntu wese afite agaciro ntagereranywa, kagomba kubahwa no kubahishwa. Ni yo mpamvu amategeko y'u Rwanda ahana uwo ari we wese wiha gutuka cyangwa gutesha umuntu agaciro.

• Kureshya kw'abantu mu gaciro no mu burenganzira

"Abantu bose, iyo bava bakagera, bavuka bigenga kandi barehya mu gaciro no mu cyubahiro." Ibi ni ibivugwa mu ngingo ya mbere y'itangazo Mpuzamahanga ku Burenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu. Gufata rero abantu bose kimwe imbere y'amategeko ni yo ntango y'ibanze y'uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu.

Ivugura iryo ari ryo ryose, ryaba irishingiye ku bwoko, ku ibara ry'umubiri, ku gitsina, ku rurimi, ku idini, ku mibereho, ku bukungu n'ibindi, rinyuranyije n'iryo hame ryo kureshya kw'abantu mu gaciro no mu burenganzira. Ni na yo mpamvu amasezerano yose n'amahame mpuzamahanga yerekeye uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu abuze ko habaho ubuyobozi bukorera ivugura igice kimwe cy'abaturage.

Icyo tugomba kumva ariko ni uko **kureshya** bidashaka kuvuga **gusa neza neza** kuko mu mibereho y'abantu, bamwe bashobora kugira ubushobozi gusumbye abandi. **"Kureshya"** ntibisobanura ko abantu bagomba kugira ubukire cyangwa ubwenge bumwe. Ariko rero, mu ivuka no mu mibereho yabo, itegeko rigomba guteganyiriza abantu amahirwe angana. Ni yo mpamvu nka bumwe mu burenganzira (uburenganzira bwo kwiga, uburenganzira ku murimo, uburenganzira ku burezi, uburenganzira ku bwiteganyirize...) bwemerewe abantu bose n'Amasezerano Mpuzamahanga. Buramutse butariho abantu bamwe babaho ari injiji, abarwayi, abashomeri n'abatindi mu gihe abandi baba bajijutse, bavurwa neza, bakora kandi barateye imbere.

Urugero:

Amasezerano Mpuzamahanga ateguka ibihugu byayashyizeho umukono kureka abana bakiga ku buntu amashuri abanza kandi kuyiga bikaba itegeko kuri buri wese, naho amashuri yisumbuye n'amakuru abantu bagashobora kuyigamo nta busumbane.

• Ukwishyira ukizana (ubwisanzure cyangwa ubwigenge)

Ukwishyira ukizana ni ngombwa kandi bikenewe na buri muntu kugira ngo atere imbere. Nta gaciro ka muntu nta n'ukureshya byashoboka mu gihe nta bwisanzure umuntu afite. Nta bwisanzure buhari, iterambere ry'abantu ryaba ari igicagate. Mu mateka y'isi, abantu bagiye bemera guhara amagara yabo kugira ngo babashe kubona ubwigenge bw'ibihugu byabo n'ubwabo. Kwisanzura bishaka kuvuga ko umuntu yishyira akizana muri byose, ariko bigakorwa mu nzira zemewe n'amategeko n'amabwiriza yose ya ngombwa, hagamijwe kubungabunga umutekano rusange no kubahiriza uburenganzira bw'abandi.

• Guharanira buri gihe kugira imibereho myiza

Ingingo ya 25 y'Itangazo Mpuzamahanga ryerekeye uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu ivuga ko umuntu wese afite uburenganzira bwo kubona ibya ngombwa nkenerwa kugira ngo we n'umuryango we bagire ubuzima n'imibereho byiza, nko kubona ibibatunga, icyo bambara, icumbi, gushobora kwivuza n'ibindi bikorwa biteza imbere imibereho myiza y'abaturage.

Amasezerano Mpuzamahanga yerekeye uburenganzira mu by'ubukungu, imibereho myiza n'umuco na yo ashimangira iryo hame mu ngingo yayo ya 11 aho agira ati *"Ibihugu byasinye aya masezerano byubahiriza uburenganzira bwa buri muntu bwo kugira imibereho myiza ihagije kuri buri wese n'umuryango we, no kugira imirire, imyambarire n'aho atuye bihagije, ndetse n'ubwo kuzamura, imibereho ye. Ibihugu byemeye aya masezerano bifata ibyemezo byihariye kugira ngo ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'ubwo burenganzira bigenwe mu bufatanye mpuzamahanga bwemewe nta gahato."*

• Ubusabane

Abantu bose bagomba kugenzerezanya kivandimwe, mu bwubahane; bagomba gufashanya kuko *"nta ngizi yigize"* kandi *"inkingi imwe ntiyubaka inzu"*.

2.3. Inzego z'uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu

Urwego rw'imbonezamubano na politiki

Urwego rw'imbonezamubano na politiki ni uburenganzira buhesha buri wese kwishyira akizana, bukaba ari ubu bukurikira:

- Uburenganzira bwo kubaho, ntuhigwe, ntutotezwe, ntupfe uhagaze
- Uburenganzira bwo kugira ukwishyira ukizana n'ubwigenge bumwe ku bantu bose nta vangura rishingiye ku bwoko, ku ibara ry'umubiri, ku idini, ku rurimi, ku gitsina, ku bitekerezaho, ku bwenegihugu n'ibindi
- Uburenganzira bwo kubahwa no guhabwa agaciro ka muntu:
 - nta muntu ugomba kwicwa urubozo cyangwa guhanishwa ibihano birimo ubugome, bidakwiye ikiremhamuntu cyangwa se bitesha umuntu agaciro;

- ❑ nta muntu ugomba gufatwa ku ngufu mu mibonano mpuzabitsina
 - ❑ nta muntu ugomba kugeragerezwaho ubushakashatsi mu rwego rw'ubuvuzi cyangwa se ubundi buhanga atabiyemereye ubwe
 - ❑ nta muntu ugomba kugirwa umucakara cyangwa umuja: n'ikimenyimenyi ubucuruzi bw'abacakara burabujijwe
 - ❑ nta muntu ugomba gukoreshwa imirimo y' agahato.
 - ❑ nta muntu wemerewe kwivutsa ubuzima
- Uburenganzira bwo kwishyira ukizana, kwigenga no kugira umutekano;-
- Uburenganzira bwo kugira ubuzima gatozi nko mu mashyirahamwe no mu madini
- Uburenganzira bwo kugira ubwenegihugu
- Uburenganzira bwo kugira umutungo
- Uburenganzira bwo kutavogerwa: imibereho bwite y'umuntu, iy'umuryango we, urugo rwe, ubutumwa yoherezeranya n'abandi ntibivogerwa; icyubahiro n'agaciro bye mu maso y'abandi bigomba kubahirizwa. Amategeko agomba kumurinda kuvogerwa no kwandagazwa
- Uburenganzira bwo kureshya imbere y'amategeko n'ubwo kurengerwa kimwe n'itegeko
- Uburenganzira bwo kugenda nta nkomyi no gutura aho ushaka mu gihugu
- Uburenganzira ku butabera:
 - ❑ kudafatwa, kudafungwa no kudacirwa hanze y'igihugu bitubahirije amategeko
 - ❑ kuregera inkiko igihe wumva uburenganzira bwawe bwahungabanye
 - ❑ gucirirwa urubanza rutabera igihe ufite icyo uregwa, kandi ugafatwa nk'umwere igihe cyose urukiko rutaraguhamya icyaha.
- Uburenganzira bwo gushyingirwa no kugira umuryango; nta muntu ugomba guhatirwa gushyingirwa n'uwo adashaka n'igihe atabishakiye;
- Uburenganzira bwo kugira ibitekerezo no kubitangaza, bwo kugira umutimanama no guhitamo idini wishakiye, ndetse no kurihindura igihe ubishakiye;
- Uburenganzira bwo kujya mu mashyirahamwe
- Uburenganzira bwo gukora inama mu ituze
- Uburenganzira bwo gutora no gutorwa.
- *Urwego rw'ubukungu, imibereho myiza n'umuco*
- Uburenganzira bwo kwigenera imibereho, kugira uruhare mu micungire y'iby'igihugu cye no kwiteza imbere mu bukungu, mu mibereho myiza n' umuco
- Uburenganzira ku murimo:
 - ❑ Uburenganzira bungana ku bantu bose bwo gukora imirimo ya Leta no kujya mu mirimo y' ubutegetsi bw' igihugu
 - ❑ Uburenganzira bwo kwihitiramo umurimo ushaka
 - ❑ Uburenganzira bwo guhabwa umushahara ungana ku bantu bakora umurimo umwe no kurindwa akarengane ku murimo ako ari ko kose

- ❑ Uburenganzira bwo guhabwa umushahara ukwiriye kandi uhagije watuma umukozi n'umuryango we babaho ku buryo bubereye ikiremamuntu
- ❑ Uburenganzira bwo kujya mu ngaga zirengera inyungu z'abakozi
- ❑ Uburenganzira ku bwiteganyirize bw'abakozi
- ❑ Uburenganzira bwo kuruhuka no kwidagadurira.
- Uburenganzira ku buzima bwiza
 - ❑ Uburenganzira bwo kugira ubuzima buzira umuze no kudatotezwa
 - ❑ Uburenganzira bwo kubona ibyangombwa kugira ngo umuntu n'umuryango we bashobore kugira ubuzima buzira umuze n'imibereho myiza
 - ❑ Uburenganzira bwo kurindwa no kurengerwa ku muryango
 - ❑ Uburenganzira bwo kurindwa no kurengerwa by'umwihariko ku babyeyi n'abana
 - ❑ Uburenganzira bwo kuvuzwa, cyane cyane ku batishoboye
 - ❑ Uburenganzira bwo kugobokwa igihe cyose bikenewe.
- Uburenganzira ku burezi:
 - ❑ Abantu bose bagomba kwigira amashuri abanza kandi batariha
 - ❑ Abantu bose bagomba guhabwa ubushobozi bwo kwigira amashuri yisumbuye n'amakuru nta vangura rishingiye ku cyo ari cyo cyose uretse ubushobozi bw'ibihugu byabo n'ubushobozi bwabo bwo kwigira
 - ❑ Ababyeyi ni bo bafite uburenganzira bwo guhitiramo abana babo uburere . bubakwiye.
- Uburenganzira ku mutungo; nta wushobora kwamburwa umutungo we ku maherere
- Uburenganzira bwo kugira icumbi
- Uburenganzira bwo kwishyira hamwe n'abandi n'ubwo kudahatirwa kujya mu ishyirahamwe iri n'iri
- Uburenganzira bwo kugira uruhare mu bikorwa ndangamuko n'ubwo kurengerwa bikorwa by'ubuvanganzo cyangwa by'ubugenzi.

➤ *Urwego rw'ubufatanye*

Muri uru rwego rw'ubufatanye, uburenganzira ni uburi hagati y'ibihugu bikize n'ibikiri mu nzira y'amajyambere. Muri ubwo burenganzira dusangamo uburenganzira ku majyambere mu by'ubukungu, mu by'imibereho n'umuco no kunezwa ku buryo bungana mu mutungo rusange, uburenganzira ku mahoro no ku mutekano, uburenganzira bwo kuba ahanu heza n'ibindi.

Nk'uko bigaragara, gushyira uburenganzira bw'ikiremamuntu mu nzego ntibibuza ko uburenganzira ubu n'ubu twabushyira mu nzego nyinshi.

Urugero: Uburenganzira ku mutungo buri mu nzego zose, ndetse ahanini ni ko bimeze no ku bundi burenganzira kuko uburenganzira bumwe bufite inkomoko yabwo ku

burenganzira bw'urwego rububanziriza. Naho uburenganzira ku buzima buzira umuze, ku murimo, ku burezi, bufite inkomoko ku burenganzira bwo kubaho, kuko kubaho binasaba kubaho neza.

➤ *Izindi nzego z'uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu*

Uburenganzira bwarondowe ni uburenganzira bugirwa n'abantu ku giti cyabo. Hari nanone:

- *Uburenganzira bahuriweho n'umuryango munini w'abantu:* muri bwo twavugaga uburenganzira bwo kwigenga, ubwo kwicungira ubukungu n'umutungo kamere, ubwo gutera imbere mu bukungu no mu mibereho myiza no mu muco, ubwo kugira amahoro n'umutekano n'ibindi;
- *Uburenganzira bw'umwihariko ku byiciro bimwe na bimwe by'abantu,* nk'abagore, abana, abamugaye, abarwayi ba SIDA n'abandi;
- *Uburenganzira bwa ba nyamuke;* muri bwo twavugaga uburenganzira bwo kuvugaga ururimi rwabo no gushyira mu bikorwa ndetse no kwigisha idini yabo n'uburenganzira bwo kugira ibikorwa ndangamuco bahuriyeho;
- *Uburenganzira bahuriweho n'abaturage bose batuye isi;* muri bwo twavugaga uburenganzira bwo kubaho mu mahoro, bwo kurindwa ivangura n' ikandamizwa iryo ari ryo ryose, bwo kurindwa itsembabwoko, bwo kugira amajyambere n'ubwo kugira ngo ibyiza by'isi bisaranganywe kimwe n'abayituye.

➤ *Uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu mu bihe bidasanzwe*

Duhereye ku nshingano za buri muntu ku bandi no ku gihugu, twabona ko hari ibihe bidasanzwe bishobora gutuma hafatwa ibyemezo byo kugabanya cyangwa kuzitira bumwe mu burenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu, bitewe n'uko hashakwa umutekano cyangwa inyungu za benshi.

Ingero:

- Uburenganzira bwo gutembera aho ushaka n'igihe ushakiye, ubwo kwishyira hamwe no gukora inama, ubwo kuva mu gihugu, bushobora guhagarikwa mu bihe by'umutekano muke;
- Uburenganzira bwo gutangaza ibitekerezo byawe bushobora guhagarikirwa umuntu wese cyangwa ishyirahamwe ry'abantu bamamaza amacakubiri.

Nyamara ariko hariho uburenganzira umuntu adashobora kwamburwa n'ubwo haba ari mu bihe bidasanzwe:

- Uburenganzira bwo kubaho;
- Uburenganzira bwo kuticwa urubozo, kudahanishwa ibihano bya kinyamaswa, birimo ubugome bukabije cyangwa bitesha muntu agaciro;
- Uburenganzira bwo kudashyirwa ku ngoyi cyangwa mu bucakara;
- Uburenganzira bwo kugira ubuzima gatozi, ukwishyira ukizana mu bitekerezo, mu mutimanama no mu idini.

2.4. Inshingano zijyana n'uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu

➤ *Inshingano z'umuntu ku giti cye*

Uburenganzira bwa muntu bugira aho bugarukira. Uburenganzira n'ubwigenge bya buri muntu bikoresheye ku buryo bitavogera uburenganzira bwa mugenzi we, umutekano rusange, umuco mwiza n'inyungu rusange.

Umuntu kandi agira ibyo ashinzwe mu bo babana, kuko uwo mubano we n'abandi ari na wo akesha kujya mbere. Umuntu wese rero afite inshingano mu muryango, mu gihugu, muri Leta no mu makoraniro y'abantu yemewe n'amategeko, kimwe no mu bantu batuye Isi bose.

Zimwe mu nshingano umuntu afite ni izi zikurikira:

- Kubaha no gufata kimwe abandi bantu nta vangura iryo ari ryo ryose, bakabana neza mu buryo buteza imbere kandi bushyigikira ubwubahane n'ubworoherane mu bantu bose;
- Kubungabunga amajyambere aboneye y'umuryango no guharanira ko ushyira hamwe kandi ukubahwa; kubaha igihe cyose ababyeyi be kandi akabaha ibibatunga, akanabagoboka mu gihe bibaye ngombwa;
- Gukoresha ubushobozi n'ubwenge bwe bwose kugira ngo igihugu cye gitere imbere;
- Kutabangamira umutekano w'igihugu cye cyangwa icyo atuyemo;
- Kubungabunga no guteza imbere ubufatanye hagati y'abaturage, cyane cyane iyo hari ikibubangamiye;
- Guharanira no kubungabunga ubusugire n'ubwigenge by'igihugu no gutanga inkunga mu kukirwanaho muri rusange hakurikijwe inzira ziteganywa n'amategeko;
- Gukorana ubushobozi n'ubuhanga bye byose, no kwishyura imisoro iteganywa n'amategeko kugira ngo inyungu rusange z'igihugu zisugire;
- Guharanira, mu mibanire ye n'abandi, ko ibyiza by'umuco we bishyigikiye mu bworoherane, imishyikirano no kugira uruhare mu guteza imbere ubusugire bw'imico myiza n'umubano mu bantu.

➤ *Inshingano za Leta*

Uburenganzira bwa muntu bugomba kubahirizwa kugira ngo asugire asagambe, arushaho gutera imbere, kandi anarushaho kuba umuntu. Kubera izo mpamvu, Leta ifite inshingano nkuru yo kubahiriza no kubahirisha uburenganzira bwa buri muturage. Iyo nshingano ni yo ihesha Leta uburenganzira bwo kugira ibyo isaba abaturage, ndetse n'ubwo gushyiraho amategeko ahana abatubahiriza ibisabwa.

Muri make:

"Uburenganzira bw'umuturage ni zo nshingano za Leta".

"Uburenganzira bwa Leta ni zo nshingano z'umuturage".

➤ *Ibya ngombwa kugira ngo uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu bwubahirizwe*

- Ubumwe bw'abenegihugu

Ubumwe bw'abenegihugu bugomba gushingira ku burunganire bw'abaturage imbere y'amategeko, ku gufatwa kimwe kuri bose kandi muri byose no kubahiriza uburenganzira bw'ibanze uko biteganywa n'amategeko.

Ubumwe bw'abenegihugu busaba kwanga ivangura iryo ari ryo ryose n'icyitwa ikandamiza cyose, nk'iryaba rishingiye ku bwoko, ku karere, ku gitsina cyangwa ku idini.

- Igihugu kigendera ku mategeko

Kuvuga igihugu kigendera ku mategeko bisobanura ko nta muntu, kabone n'iyi yaba ari umuyobozi, ushobora gusumba amategeko, kandi ko amategeko yubahiriza uburenganzira bw'ibanze bw'abaturage.

Igihugu kigendera ku mategeko ntigiharaniye gusa gushyiraho amategeko, ahubwo kigena n'uburyo bukoreshwa mu gushyiraho no kubungabunga imitegekere ishingiye kuri demokarasi, kitarangwa n'ubutabera bushingiye ku kwemera no gushimangira agaciro gahanitse ka muntu.

- Kubahiriza ubwigenge shingiro

Ubwigenge shingiro buvugwa hano burimo ubwisanzure mu kugaragaza ibitekerezo, mu gushinga ingaga no kwibumbira mu mashyirahamwe, ari aya politiki, ari agamije imibereho myiza y'abaturage, ari n'ayerekeye ubukungu.

- Demokarasi ishingiye ku baturage, abaturage bakayigiramo uruhare

Zimwe mu ngingo z'ingenzi z'iri hame ni izi zikurikira:

- Ubutegetsi butangwa n'abaturage binyuze mu matora adafititse
- Guverinoma ishingiye ku byemewe n'abaturage muri ayo matora.

Urugero: amatora ya kamarampaka ni yo yemeza ibikubiye mu Itegeko Nshinga.

- Gutandukanya inzego z'ubutegetsi

Igitugu ntigishobora kwirindwa mu gihe urwego rumwe rw'ubutegetsi cyangwa bamwe mu bategetsi bikubiye ubwoko butatu bw'imirimo leta ishinze: gushyiraho amategeko, kuyubahiriza no guca imanza. Iyo ubutegetsi bugiye mu maboko y'umuntu umwe, nta kugenzura imikorere ye bikozwe n'urundi rwego rw'ubutegetsi, bibyara ingoma y'igitugu. Gutandukanya inzego z'ubutegetsi byashyiriweho kugira ngo buri rwego rugenzure urundi, hagamijwe kurinda abaturage ubutegetsi bw'igitugu.

- Ubutegetsi bushingiye ku bitekerezo binyuranye byuzuzanya

Igihugu kigendera ku matwara ya demokarasi gishingira ku bitekerezo binyuranye, bikaba ari ikimenyetso cy'ubwigenge bwa buri muntu n'iyubahirizwa ry'ibitekerezo bye ku byerekeye imiyoborere y'igihugu cye. Ni yo mpamvu amashyamba menshi, amashyirahamwe n'ibitekerezo by'abantu ku giti cyabo byemerwa.

- Kubaza umuyobozi ibyo ashinzwe

Kugira ngo uburenganzira bwa muntu bwubahirizwe, abayobozi bagomba kumenyekanisha no kwisobanura ku byo bashinzwe n'abaturage, hakoreshejwe uburyo buteganywa n'amategeko, nko kwisobanura mu Nteko Ishinga Amategeko, ibiganiro mu buryo bw'itangazamakuru n'ibindi.

Izi ngingo zose zavuzwe haruguru, iyo zuzuye ni bwo bavuga ko hariho imiyoborere myiza.

2.5. Inzego zishinzwe iyubahirizwa ry' uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu mu Rwanda

- Inzego za Leta:
 - Inzego zishinzwe umutekano: Polisi y'Igihugu n'inzego zishinzwe iperereza
 - Inzego zishinzwe ubutabera: Inkiko, ubugenzacyaha n'ubushinjacyaha
 - Inzego z'ubuyobozi zose, guhera ku nzego z'ibanze kugeza ku nzego nkuru nka Guverinoma, Inteko Ishinga Amategeko n'izindi
 - Komisiyo y'Igihugu Ishinzwe Uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu.
- Inzego zigenga:
 - Imiryango itegamiye kuri Leta iharanira uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu.

2.6. Inzitizi mu kubahiriza uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu

Ibikunze kubangamira uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu ni byinshi cyane ariko iby'ingenzi ni ibi bikurikira

- Umutekano muke mu gihugu, mu karere n'ahandi ku isi
- Kutubahiriza amategeko
- Ubutegetsi bw'igitugu
- Gutonesha
- Ubucamanza budafite ubwigenge
- Ubukene

2.7. Ingamba zo kubahiriza uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu

Hamaze kugaragazwa inzitizi mu kubahiriza uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu, ingamba ziboneye zafatwa ni nk'izi

- Kubahiriza no gushyigikira amasezerano agamije kugarura amahoro (urugero: amasezerano y'i Lusaka n'ay'i Prétoria)
- Kubaka igihugu kigendera ku mategeko
- Guha urubuga imiryango nyarwanda itegamiye kuri Leta igakorera mu bwisanzure
- Kurwanya ubujiji
- Amahugurwa y'abaturage.

Twakwanzura tuvuga ko uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu ari ngombwa kubera ingingo zikurikira:

- Uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu ni ngombwa kuko butanga amahirwe angana kandi mu nzego zose
- Iyo abantu bafite uburenganzira bumwe bituma buri wese agira uruhare mu guteza imbere imibereho ye bwite, iy'umuryango we n' iy'igihugu cyeye
- Nta burenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu nta terambere ryabaho
- Uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu buha buri wese umudendeko, ubwigenge n'umutekano, kandi bugateza imbere agaciro ka muntu bukanamwubahisha
- Uburenganzira bw' ikiremhamuntu bworohereza gutanga no kwakira amakuru
- Kubaha uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu bituma habaho imiyoborere myiza.

Abaturage bose bagomba kumenya inzego zishinzwe kurengera uburenganzira bwabo, kuko uburenganzira buharanirwa:

- Umuntu ku giti cyeye ashobora kwiha cyangwa kwibuza uburenganzira bwe; umuntu wahohotewe ntaregere inzego zibishinzwe aba yibujije uburenganzira bwe kandi abizi, kandi uwamuhohoteye nta cyamubuza kuzongera kubikora igihe cyose azabishakira kuko atigeze ahanwa.
- Umuntu ashobora guhabwa cyangwa kubuzwa uburenganzira n'abandi; iyo umuturage asagariye undi, yamukubita, yamwoneshereza, cyangwa akanamutuka, abandi baturage bakamufasha kurenganurwa bamugira inama z'aho yarega, cyangwa bakabikemurira muri gacaca, baba bamushubije uburenganzira bwe.

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3. UBWENEGIHUGU

Ubwenegihugu ni isano ishingiyeye ku mategeko, ihuza umuntu n'igihugu runaka, ituma umuntu abarirwa mu bagize icyo gihugu. Ubwenegihugu bw'u Rwanda ni isano ituma umuntu abarirwa mu Banyarwanda.

Umunyarwanda ni umuntu wese ufite ubwenegihugu bw'u Rwanda. Itegeko ryo ku wa 28 Nzeri 1963 ni ryo rigenga ibyerekeye ubwenegihugu bw'u Rwanda. Nyuma ariko Amasezerano y'Arusha ateganya ubwenegihugu bubiri nk'uko bigaragara mu ngingo ya 7 mu gice kirebana n'itahuka ry'impunzi.

Iki gice cya gatatu kiribanda kuri izi ngingo:

- Uburenganzira n'inshingano by'Umunyarwanda
- Guhabwa no kwamburwa ubunyarwanda
- Umuco wo gukunda igihugu

3.1. Uburenganzira n' inshingano by'Umunyarwanda

Kuba Umunyarwanda ari umwe mu bagize igihugu, hari uburenganzira bimuha, ariko hari n'inshingano agomba kugira nk'Umunyarwanda.

• Uburenganzira

Ku byerekeye uburenganzira umwenegihugu afite mu gihugu, ubwa mbere ubundi bwose bushingiyeho ni ukubaho, ariko muri uko kubaho kwe, mu mibereho ye akagira uruhare mu miyoborere y'igihugu kuko igihugu kibaho iyo gifite abagituye bariho, bafite ubuyobozi kandi kikaba cyigenga iyo bwa buyobozi bufitwe n'abenegihugu.

Umunyarwanda na we afite uburenganzira bwo kugira uruhare mu miyoborere y'u Rwanda. Ubundi burenganzira ni ubwo kurengerwa n'igihugu cye cy'u Rwanda, na bwo buturuka kuri ya sano imuhuza n'u Rwanda.

• Inshingano

Umunyarwanda afite inshingano zituruka ku isano afitanye n'u Rwanda. Izo nshingano, muri rusange, zikubiye mu nshingano yo gukunda u Rwanda. Umunyarwanda nyawe aba yifuriza u Rwanda ibyiza.

3.2. Guhabwa cyangwa kwamburwa ubunyarwanda

Mbere y'ubukoroni, uko Abanyarwanda bumvaga ubwenegihugu bw'u Rwanda tubisanga mu bwiru, mu Nzira yo gushora aho bugira buti "umwami agasezerera abanyamahanga, uwamucikiye n'uwacikiye se n'uwacikiye sekuru. Naho uwacikiye sekuruza aba ari rubanda mu bandi" (d'Hertefelt, M & Coupez, A., 1964: 100).

Igihe cy'ubukoroni, Abanyarwanda bagenderaga ku mategeko y'Ubudage n'Ububirigi. Itegeko rigena uko umunyamahanga abona ubwenegihugu bw'u Rwanda akaba Umunyarwanda n'abamukomokaho bakazaba Abanyarwanda.

Nyuma y'Amasezerano y'amahoro ya Arusha 1994, kugira ubwenegihugu burenze bumwe byaremewe. Cyakora hari amakosa akomeye ashobora gutuma umuntu yamburwa ubunyarwanda. Mu mategeko y'u Rwanda, ashobora kunyagwa ubunyarwanda umuntu:

- waciriwe urubanza n'inkiko z'u Rwanda zimuhanira ubugambanyi cyangwa ikindi cyaha gihungabanya amahoro ya Leta mu gihugu cyangwa mu mahanga
- wahawe cyangwa wakomereye ubwenegihugu bw'u Rwanda uko byateganyijwe n'itegeko ariko akoresheje amayeri, imvugo ibeshya, inyandiko irimo ikinyoma cyangwa igize icyo iyobaho, ruswa yo kugurira umwe mu bamugiriye mu kibazo, cyangwa ubundi buriganya. Nyir'ubwite azanyagwa ubwenegihugu n'aho yaba yari afite ibyangombwa byateganyijwe n'amategeko ariko agakubitiraho ubwo buriganya bweruye cyangwa buziguye.

3.3. Umuco wo gukunda igihugu

Umunyarwanda ukunda igihugu agomba:

- kubahiriza no gukurikiza amategeko y'u Rwanda
- gukora ibishoboka kugira ngo ateze u Rwanda imbere
- kwitangira u Rwanda byaba ngombwa akarupfira
- kwirinda ibintu byose byagayisha u Rwanda cyangwa bikaruta mu byago
- Kwirinda icyatera ubuhunzi
- Guharanira ubwenegihugu.

Mu magambo arambuye, gukunda igihugu ni:

- uguharanira ubusugire bwacyo no kucyitangira bibaye ngombwa
- kukivuga neza, kugihesha ishema aho uri hose no kurwanya abagisebya
- kwamagana no kurwanya ibihungabanya umutekano w'abantu n'ibintu
- gufatanya n'abandi mu bikorwa bigamije iterambere ryacyo.
- kubungabunga umutungo kamere wacyo
- kutagisahura no kurwanya abagisahura.

Kugira igihugu umuntu afitiye ubwenegihugu ni imwe mu nkingi z'uburenganzira n'ubwigenge bya muntu. Uwagutuka nabi yagutuka kutagira igihugu, kuba impunzi burundu cyangwa kwamburwa ubwenegihugu ni ibyago bikomeye cyane kuko nta burenganzira buhagije umuntu aba agifite, umuntu aba asuzuguritse cyane. Kutagira igihugu ni ukwibura, ni ukubura icyo ukunda kiguhesha agaciro k'ubwenegihugu nk' umuntu.

Ubwo ari uko bimeze rero, buri wese yari akwiye guharanira igihugu akunda na cyo kimukunda akirinda icyo ari cyo cyose cyatera ubuhunzi. Uwahawe

ubwenegihugu bw'u Rwanda akwiye kubahwa, kudafatwa nk'umunyamahanga, akakirwa neza mu muryango w'Abanyarwanda.

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4. UMUCO

Umuco ni urwunge rugizwe n'ibitekerezohame n'umurage dukomora ku bakurambere. Umuco ni intera ihora igerwaho, ivuka ku myivugururire y'imibereho no ku busabane n'amahanga.

Umuco ni urusobe rw'imyihariko abantu baba bafite ibatandukanya n'abandi batari bo. Birumvikana ko umuco w'abatuye igihugu iki n'iki ari ya ngingo ituma bagira bati "ni aba, ni bariya". Bityo ukaba utakwitiranya Abanyarwanda n'Abatanzaniya Abazambiya n'Abanyafurika y'Epfo ...

Umuco ni ihuriro ry'ibigize imibereho y'abantu ya buri muni ; ni uburyo bwo kubona ibintu kw'abenegihugu. Ni isangano ry'ibyiza nyabyo by'igihe cyahise, ibihangwa ubu n'ibizagerwaho ahazaza.

Umuco ni icyo abantu babura ntibababwira aho. Umuco rero si ikintu umuntu amenya mu mutwe we cyangwa se ngo agisome mu bitabo by'imitumba (binini kandi byinshi) ahubwo ni ukumvira umutimanama mu byo uyoboramo umuntu, umubuza gukora ibidatunganye.

Umuco urangwa n'ibyo abenegihugu bagaragaza, ibyo batekereza, ibyo bakunda, ibyo bazirikana n'ibyo bafataho urugero. Umuco urangwa kandi n'uko abantu berekana uko bateye, bikabonekera mu *migenzo, imihango, imiziririzo, iyobokamana ururimi, ubuhanzi n'ibindi*.

Muri make, umuco ni imitekerereze, imigenzereze, imyifatire yihariye y'umuryango w'abantu aba n'aba byaba mu mibereho isanzwe, mu kwidagadura, mu iyobokamana n'ibindi.

Ugaragarira kandi mu mateka no mu bindi birangamuco nk'inzibutso, ahantu h'interamatsiko, amatongo, ibisigazwa by'abakurambere, ibikoreshe byabo n'ibindi .

4.1. Inkingi z'umuco nyarwanda

Inkingi z'umuco nyarwanda ni amahame ngenderwaho atuma hatunganywa n'ibindi mu rwego rw'umubano, urw'ubukungu n'urw'imibereho, ari yo aya:

- Ikinyabupfura

Ikinyabupfura kigaragarira mu mikorere no mu mivugire, mu myifatire itunganye no mu bumenyi bwo kuvuga neza, ukabana n'abandi neza ntubangame mu kiganiro nko gushaka kwiharira ijamba ngo utume abandi batavugaga. Bisobanura kandi kuvuga utuje, udasakuzwa. Binavugaga kumenya kwihangana, kutavunda, kwiyubaha no kubaha abandi, buri muntu mu mwanya we, kwifata neza ku mubiri, kutibonekeza mu bandi n'ibindi.

- **Kugira umutima**

Kugira umutima bivuga kwanga icyakubonekaho, cyangwa ngo kikuvugweho, kigayitse, kidatunganye. Bivuga kandi kutanyuranya n'icyo ugomba cyangwa ukwiye gukorera undi cyangwa abandi. Binavuga kudahubuka, kugira ibanga, kwiramira mu magambo no mu bikorwa, ukabanza kugenzura ko icyo ugiye gukora cyangwa kuvuga nta we kibangamiye, kandi ko kitazagira ingaruka mbi yagukoza isoni.

- **Ubutwari**

Ubutwari ni ugushirika ubwoba ukarwanira ukuri byaba ngombwa ukagupfira. Ni ukudatinya ku rugamba, ntutererane bagenzi bawe, ahubwo ukabitangira kugira ngo mugere ku ntego nziza yo gukiza abantu no guteza igihugu imbere. Ubutwari si ubwo ku rugamba gusa, kuvuga ukuri aho bitoroshye, abandi batinya, na byo ni ubutwari. Ubutwari bujyana n'ubugabo : bivuga gushyira mu gaciro, ukagira ishyaka, ukanga kurushwa. Ni ukuba intungane mu migenzereze yawe : kuvugisha ukuri, udatinya aho rukomeye. Kuba umugabo bivuga kandi kudacika intege, ugakomeza guharanira intego yawe n'aho wagenda uhura n'ibikudindiza. Kwemera uwakurushije mu ipiganwa iryo ari ryo ryose, ukihatira kuzamuhiga ubutaha.

- **Kuvugisha ukuri no gushyira mu gaciro**

Kuvugisha ukuri no gushyira mu gaciro ni uguhamya ibyo wiboneye; wumvise cyangwa uzi neza, utabeshya. Kuvugisha ukuri ni ukudaca iruhande ibyo uzi neza cyangwa se ngo ubikikire ugamije kurengera inyungu zawe cyangwa iz'abawe.

- **Kugira ubumwe n'urugwiro**

Kugira ubumwe n'urugwiro ni ukugira umutima w'urukundo n'imbabazi ku muntu wese uje akugana. Umuntu ufite urugwiro arakundwa akanakunda, akagira inshuti nyinshi zimugana, akarangwa n'ubusabane.

- **Kwihangana**

Kwihangana ni ukutarambirwa ukiha umwanya uhagije ngo ugere ku cyo wifuza n'ubwo byakurushya kukigeraho. "Uwitonze akama ishashi.,"

- **Gukunda igibugu**

Gukunda igihugu ni ukukitangira bihebuje birimo n'uko wamena amaraso yawe. Dufite ingero nyinshi mu mateka y'igihugu cyacu z'abantu bagikunze byimazeyo. Abo bantu baritanze ndetse bamena amaraso yabo ari ugushaka kurengera Abanyarwanda n'u Rwanda. Urugero ruturi hafi ni urw'intwari zaguye ku rugamba rwo kubohora iki gihugu (1990-1994). Izindi ngero ni Ruganzu Bwimba na mushiki we Robwa bitangiye u Rwanda banga ko rwigarurirwa n'Igisaka. Ni nka Gihana mwene Kirima II Rujugira watabariye u Rwanda i Burundi.

- **Gukorana ubuhanga**

Gukorana ubuhanga ni uguharanira kugera ku isonga mu byiza umuntu akora byose.

Muri make izi nkingi zose ni zo twita **ubupfura**. Ni bwo pfundo ry'umuco nyarwanda. Ni bwo teranirwamo rusange ry'imigenzereze n'imyifatire itunganye ituma uba uwo uri we ntube undi.

4.2. Imiyoboro y'umuco

Inganda zicurirwamo umuco zikawunagura ndetse zikanawushimangira ni nyinshi, Twavugaga nka:

- *Ururimi* : ni intwari ikomeye ifasha mu gusobanura no gukwirakwiza amahame ngenderwaho y'umuco. Ururimi ni rwo ruhuza abantu, rukabasanisha. Ururimi ni rwo ntangiriro y'umuco kubera ko ari rwo rukubiyemo imigenzereze, imikorere n'imyifatire y'abantu.

- *Umuryango*: Abakiri bato bakunze gufata vuba inyigisho zivuye ku rugero rwiza bahabwa n'ababakuriye. Ni yo mpamvu ababyeyi mu muryango barebwa ku buryo bwihariye n'uburere mbonezamuco bw'ababakomokaho n'abo bashinzwe muri rusange.

- *Uburezi*: "Kora ndebe iruta vuga numve » . Abarezi mu mashuri ntibagomba gutanga ubumenyi gusa, ahubwo bagomba no gutanga uburere mbonezamuco, bigisha amahame remezo y'umuco ari na ko ubwabo bagaragara nk'intangarugero.

- *Amatorero*: Kera habagaho amatorero n'ibitaramo byigishwagamo umuco. Ay'ubu nk'ayo yo hambere agomba kuba umuyoboro wanyuzwamo uburere mbonezamuco dore ko kenshi aba agizwe n'abantu b'ibitsina byombi ndetse bakaba mu ngero zitandukanye (abato n'abakuru).

- *Ubuhanzi*: Ubuhanzi nyabwo ni ubuhangira ku muco, kandi umuco, nk'uko tumaze kubivugaga, ni uha agaciro ubuzima bw'umuntu.

- *Itangazamakuru*: Ni rimwe mu miyoboro y'ingenzi yanyuzwamo ubutumwa bujyanye n'ibyiza bikubiye mu muco nyarwanda ndetse rifite uruhare rukomeye mu gucengeza uburere mbonezamuco mu Banyarwanda. Itangazamakuru rigomba kugira gahunda ihamye y'ibiganiro mbonezamuco.

- *Inyandiko*: Akenshi umuntu yandika ibyo atekereza, ibyo akunda n'ibyo yemera. Ni yo mpamvu inyandiko z'abanditsi bacu zikwiriye kugusha kenshi ku burere mbonezamuco, bwo buranga Umunyarwanda wese.

- *Amategeko*: Haba mu muryango, haba no mu gihugu muri rusange, amategeko agaragara nk'uburyo n'umuyoboro biboneye bishimangira amahame y'umuco. Aya mategeko mu muco wacu agamije guca ingeso yo kudahana, adaca iteka ahubwo ahanura. Ubwo buryo bukumira umuntu n'imbaga y'abantu ngo batikorera ibyo bashaka.

- *Ibiganiro*: Ibiganiro ni uburyo abantu bungurana ibitekerezo, bituma baha umurongo urwego runaka, ku bwumvikane bw'abagize icyo kiganiro, ni ukuvuga uwatanze igitekerezo n'ibitekerezo byagitanzweho n'abagikurikiranye.

4.3. Inzitizi z'umuco.

Inzitizi z'umuco ziri ukwinshi, zimwe muri zo ni izi:

- *Uburere bubi* : Ni ukwigishwa ingeso mbi zikubiyemo inzitizi z'umuco zose zituma utumvira umutimanama.
- *Ubusambo cyangwa inda nini* : Ni ukwikubira ibintu ukabyiharira nk'aho abandi batabifiteho uburenganzira.
- *Inzangano* : Ni umuco mubi uterwa n'ishyari, amabwire biturutse ahanini ku bintu.
- *Ironda* : Ni ingeso ivangura abantu igatonesha kuko ikumira bamwe abandi ikabashyira ku ibere. Ironda rishobora gushingira ku bwoko, uturere, ururimi, idini...
- *Gushyira inyungu z'umuntu imbere y'iz'igihugu* : Ahanini umuntu yirengagiza inyungu rusange z'igihugu agashyira imbere inyungu ze bwite kubera kwikunda.
- *Ukwiyeamera* : Ni ukudaha agaciro ikintu n'ibitekerezo bitari ibyaweho. Iyo ngeso ni imwe mu zakuruye umwiryane mu bantu, uwo mudahuye ibitekerezo, akarere, ntabe yagira icyo akora ngo kikunogere.
- *Kubangamira ubwisanzure (uburenganzira) bwa muntu*.

4.4. Ingamba zo gukungahaza umuco.

- Kuvugurura umuco

Umuco si ikintu kiri aho kidahinduka, ahubwo urivugurura ; ni yo mpamvu tutakwibanda ku bya kera gusa tuvuga ko ari umuco. Tugomba gutoranya mu by'abakurambere n'iby'ubu, ari ibyacu n'ibivuye hanze, maze tugashungura tugasigarana ibyiza dukuyemo.

Umuco nta bwo udindiza umuntu ahubwo umuteza imbere. Kuko umuco ari ukubaho, imyumvire, imyifatire n'imikorere mu gihe runaka aha n'aha, ituma umuntu abonera umuti ibibazo biri mu muryango igihe iki n'iki.

Umuco ugomba guha buri gihe agaciro ubuzima n'umuntu.

- Gukungahaza umuco w'amahoro

Icy'ingenzi mu byo dukeneye byose ngo abantu babone uko bakora ni amahoro, kuko tutayafite n'ibindi bikorwa ntibyagerwaho. Umuco twita uw'amahoro ni uwubahiriza uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu ku buryo busesuye kandi burambye.

- Guterwa ishema n'umuco wacu

Ikigaragaza ko umuntu yayobotse umuco we ni ugusanga umutera ishema, ntahishe uwo ari we (ni yo mpamvu intwari zidatinye kwivuga).

Abanyarwanda rero bakwiye kwishimira kubona ubwabo ko bafite umuco utagira uko usa, amatorero yacu akoherezwa mu mahanga, ayo mahanga akabona uko twambara, uko dukina, uko twifata, akatumenya ubupfura n'ubutore, bikazatuma bifuza kureba aho tuba; babona u Rwanda, imisozi, ibiyaga, amashyamba, inyamaswa, banahumeka umwuka mwiza warwo bagataha baruririmba, barwogeza; ba mukerarugendo bakatugirira amatsiko, hoteri zacu bakazikungahaza, bityo na babandi bajyaga bagira isoni zo kwitwa Abanyarwanda bakaberwa na rwo kubera ibyiza n'umwihariko ubaranga.

- Kugarukira ururimi

Kwiga indimi z'amahanga ku Munyarwanda ni byiza ariko atirengagije ikinyarwanda ururimi kavukire rwe kuko, mu by'ingenzi bimuranga nk'Umunyarwanda, si uko ari mugufi cyangwa muremure, inzobe cyangwa igikara, ahubwo ni uko avuga ikinyarwanda

- Kwihatira gutsura amajyambere

Kugira ngo dushobore kuvugurura no kugarukira umuco hakwiye kubaho gahunda ihamye yo kuwigisha no kurwanya ubujiji. Umuturawanda agashobora kwihitiramo ibikwiye.

Ubundi twavugaga ko kujijuka bizamuhesha amahitamo yatekerejeho, ahesha agaciro umuco we kandi yiyemeje ingaruka zawo. Ibi bizatuma amajyambere agerwaho, dore yo n'umuco bidatana. Muri make rero, umuco ugomba kuba umusemburo nyakuri w'amajyambere arambye.

Mu kwanzura, ibyo dukora byose bikwiye gukorerwa mu mucyo, umuco ukabibera ishingiro, kuko ibitagira umuco bicika. Bityo tukagira imiyoborere iganisha majyambere arambye, byose bishingiye ku mucyo wacu. Kugira ngo ibyo bigerweho hakwiye:

- Gushyira muri za gahunda za Leta inyigisho mbonezamuco;
- Gushyira mu bikorwa izo nyigisho. Ibi bisaba abantu babishoboye n'ibikoreshe bihagije;
- Gushishikariza abaturarwanda, cyane cyane abakiri bato, mu mashuri no ku mirenge inyigisho mbonezagihugu.

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5. IMIYOBORERE MYIZA.

Imiyoborere myiza ni ubuyobozi bwiza.

Ubuyobozi bwiza ni:

- uburyo buboneye bwo guhuza abayobora n'abayoborwa, buri wese akagira kandi akamenya inshingano ze
- ubuha buri wese inshingano zijyanye n'ibyo asabwa kubahiriza
- ni ukuzuzanya mu bitekerezo.

Umuyobozi mwiza ni uwemera kandi akagenda ku mahameremezo y'ubuyobozi bwiza. Iki gice kigizwe n' ingingo zikurikira:

- Amahameremezo y'imiyoborere myiza
- Inzitizi ku miyoborere myiza
- Ingamba n'intwari by'ubuyobozi bwiza
- Imikorere y'umuyobozi mwiza
- Uruhare rw'umuturage mu miyoborere myiza.

Muri iyi nyigisho kandi, ntushobora kwigisha Abanyarwanda imiyoborere myiza utabasobanuriye uko imiyoborere mibi iteye ndetse n'ingaruka mbi zayo. Iri ni na ryo pfundo ry'ikibazo ingingo zose zigomba kugenderaho zikerekana inzira iboneye igomba kunyurwamo n'Umunyarwanda wese wabonye izi nyigisho akirinda kugwa mu mutego w'imiyoborere mibi.

5.1. Amahameremezo y'imiyoborere myiza

Amahameremezo y'imiyoborere myiza ni aya akurikira:

- Kugira uruhare kw'abaturage mu buyobozi
- Gukorera mu mucyo
- Kumenyekanisha no kwisobanura ku byo ushinze gukora
- Kugira ubuyobozi buri wese yibonamo
- Kugena no kubahiriza ibyo ushinze gukora
- Kutabogama no kwita ku nyungu za buri wese
- Kugendera ku mategeko no kubahiriza uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu
- Kubaha igitekerezo cy'undi no kwirinda gufata ibyemezo mu mwanya we
- Kwirinda gusesagura umutungo ushinze gucunga
- Kongera ubushobozi
- Kwemerwa kw'abayobozi
- Gushyira imbere ibikorwa bifitiye abaturage akamaro
- Guharanira ubwigenge mu bwuzuzanye hagati y'inzego z'ubutegetsi
- Kwegereza abaturage ubuyobozi n' ibikoreshe
- Guharanira ubumwe, uburinganire n'ubwuzuzanye mu mibereho ya muntu
- Gushimangira imibanire myiza n'imikoranire n'abo muri kumwe
- Kumenya kugisha no kugira abandi inama

- Kwitsinda, kwicisha bugufi mu myifatire no mu mibanire n'abandi.

5.2. Inzitizi ku miyoborere myiza

Mu nyigisho zigomba gutangwa, nta wakwirengagiza ko hariho inzitizi zinyuranye zishobora kudindiza Abanyarwanda mu gushyira mu bikorwa iyi politiki yo kugendera ku miyoborere myiza.

Iyi ngingo irakomeye kuko ari yo igomba kudufasha gushaka ibisubizo ku bibazo byibazwa ndetse hakagenwa n'ingamba kugira ngo iyi politiki ishyirwe mu bikorwa. Zimwe muri izo nzitizi zere ni izi zikurikira:

- icyizere gike hagati y'abayobozi n'abayoborwa
- Ubukene
- Gutsimbarara ku bitekerezo bishaje
- Ubusumbane no kwikubira
- Ubutegetsu bw'inzego z'ibanze budafite ingufu
- Inda nini, ruswa no kunyereza umutungo
- Amacakubiri n'inzika mu Banyarwanda
- Kumvira ubutegetsu nta bushishozi
- Inama z'urudaca, zituzuzanya n'imyanzuro, yazo kandi n'ifashwe ntigire gikurikira
- Ubujiji bwa bamwe mu bayobozi n'abayoborwa
- Kwivanga kw'abanyamahanga mu bibazo by'igihugu
- Kudasobanukirwa inshingano zawe bwite n'iz'abandi
- Ibibazo by'umutekano.
- Ibibazo by'ubutabera
- Kwiyehera
- Kutagisha cyangwa kutagira abandi inama
- Kutamenya no kudasobanukirwa n'amategeko
- Kutagira igenamigambi ku bigomba gukorwa
- Kuniganwa ijamba
- Kutemera no kuyashyigikira ibyavuye mu matora yabaye mu mucyo.

5.3. Ingamba z'ubuyobozi bwiza

Kugira ngo umuyobozi mwiza abashe kurwanya izi nzitizi zitoroshye, akeneye ingamba zikurikira:

- Umunyarwanda wese, cyane cyane abo mu nzego zo hejuru , agomba gushyigikira inzego z'ibanze
- Gusesengura inzitizi zose zibangamiye imiyoborere myiza no kuzishakira umuti
- Gushyigikira imirimo izana inyungu kandi ikorerwa mu cyaro
- Gukangurira abaturage imirimo yo kwiteza imbere ho kuyishyigikira
- Gukangurira abaturage n'inzego z'ibanze gushakisha uburyo bunyuranye bwo kongera ubushobozi no kwigirira icyizere
- Gukangurira abayobozi b'inzego zose inyungu z'imiyoborere myiza
- Gufata ingamba zihamye zo kurwanya inda nini, amacakubiri n'inzangano
- Kurwanya ubujiji mu nzego zose hakorwa amahugurwa

- Gukurikiranira hafi uko inzego zatowe zikora
- Kumenya ibibazo byihutirwa no kubifatira ingamba zihamye
- Gushyiraho intego n'ingamba byumvikana kandi bigakurikizwa nta guhuzagurika
- Kwemera ko ibitekerezo bitandukanye bishobora kuzuzanya iyo habayeho impaka zubaka
- Gushyira ahagaragara ibyabangamira cyangwa bikadindiza iterambere ry'ubuyobozi bwiza n'ingamba zabikemura.
- Gukangurira abatwaga kugira uruhare mu gukemura ibibazo by'ubutabera n'iby'umutekano
- Gushyiraho amategeko anogeye imiyoborere myiza no kuvugurura amategeko ayibangamiye
- Gushyiraho gahunda zubahirizwa zihuza abayobozi n'abayoborwa.

5.4. Imikorere y'umuyobozi mwiza

Bimwe mu bigomba kuranga imikorere y'umuyobozi mwiza ni ibi bikurikira:

- Gufatanya n'abo ayobora kugena inzira zihamye ikwiye gukurikizwa
- Guhuza ibikorwa by'abo ayobora
- Gufatanya n'abo ayobora kwirinda icyo ari cyo cyose cyahungabanya umutekano wabo
- Kubasha gufata ibyemezo ku bibazo by'ubwumvikane buke buri mu buyobozi cyangwa mu bo ayobora
- Kumenya no kubahiriza amategeko amugenga n' agenga imibereho y'imiryango ayobora
- Gusobanukirwa n'umurongo wa politiki y'igihugu, inshingano ze n'ibibazo by'abo ayobora
- Guharanira ibyateza imbere abo ayobora
- Kwemera gusangira n'abandi ubuyobozi ntiyumve ko ari we kamara
- Kwicisha bugufi yubaha buri wese
- Kudakorera gushaka ikuzo cyangwa ishimwe
- Gushishikarira gukora adateze ko ibintu bimukorerwa
- Kuba intangarugero mu myifatire, mu byo akora no mu byo avuga
- Kugira ubushobozi bwo gukora, guha abandi akazi no kubagenera uburyo bwo gukora
- Kugira no kugirwa inama
- Kwirinda icyenewabo, ironda iryo ari ryo ryose n'akarengane
- Kugira ubushobozi buhagije no kureba kure
- Kumenya abo ayobora
- Kwihatira kwiga no kwiungura ubumenyi
- Kwitsinda, kwicisha bugufi mu myifatire no mu mibanire n'abandi.

5.5. Uruhare rw'Umutwaga mu miyoborere myiza

Nta bwo imiyoborere myiza ishoboka umutwaga atabigizemo uruhare . Ni yo mpamvu agomba:

- Kwitabira inama kuko havugirwamo byinshi byubaka no gushyira mu bikorwa gahunda z'ubuyobozi

- Gukurikirana imikorere y'abayobozi yitoreye
- Guharanira uburenganzira bwe n'ubw'abandi
- Koroherana n'uwo badahuje ibitekerezo
- Kurinda umutekano we n'uw'abandi baturage
- Gutora ashingiye ku bushobozi bw'uwo ashaka ko azamuyobora akirinda andi marangamutima ayo ari yo yose.
- Gushyira mu bikorwa ibyumvikanyweho
- Kungurana ibitekerezo n'abandi
- Gukunda umurimo no guharanira icyamuteza imbere na bagenzi be
- Kumva ko ibikorwa bye ari byo shingiro ry'amajyambere akitabira umurimo
- Kumva ko ari umwe mu bagize Leta bityo ibya Leta akumva ko ari ibye.

Imiyoborere myiza ni inkingi ikomeye cyane mu majyambere y'igihugu icyo ari cyo cyose. Ariko nta wakwiringagiza ko mu Rwanda imiyoborere mibi yagiye iruteza ibyago biteye ubwoba:

Abakoroni bakuruye inzangano z'amoko, Repuburika ya mbere iza ibishimangira, Repuburika ya kabiri irabikabya, itugeza ku itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba. Nta majyambere dushobora kongera kugeraho tudashyize mu bikorwa amahameremezo y'imiyoborere myiza yatumye ibindi bihugu biva mu kangaratete.

5.5. Uruhare rw'Umuturage mu miyoborere myiza

Nta bwo imiyoborere myiza ishoboka umuturage atabigizemo uruhare . Ni yo mpamvu agomba:

- Kwitabira inama kuko havugirwamo byinshi byubaka no gushyira mu bikorwa gahunda z'ubuyobozi
- Gukurikirana imikorere y'abayobozi yitoreye
- Guharanira uburenganzira bwe n'ubw'abandi
- Koroherana n'uwo badahuje ibitekerezo
- Kurinda umutekano we n'uw'abandi baturage
- Gutora ashingiye ku bushobozi bw'uwo ashaka ko azamuyobora akirinda andi marangamutima aya ari yo yose:
- Gushyira mu bikorwa ibyumvikanyweho
- Kungurana ibitekerezo n'abandi
- Gukunda umurimo no guharanira icyamuteza imbere na bagenzi be
- Kumva ko ibikorwa bye ari byo shingiro ry'amajyambere akitabira umurimo
- Kumva ko ari umwe mu bagize Leta bityo ibya Leta akumva ko ari ibye.

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6. DEMOKARASI

Demokarasi ni ubutegetsu bw'abaturage, bushyirwaho n'abaturage kandi bukorera abaturage. Demokarasi ijyana n'abanyagihugu aba n'aba, batuye ahantu aha n'aha, bagahurira ku muco uyu n'uyu. Mu yandi magambo, demokarasi ni ubuyobozi bw'abaturage.

Ubwo buyobozi bw'abaturage, abahanga mu bya politiki babubona mu buryo butatu:

1. Demokarasi nk'uburyo bukoreshwa kugira ngo abantu bashobore kwiyobora, nko kujya impaka no kungurana ibitekerezo ku bintu rusange runaka, amatora n'ibindi. Ubu buryo bushimangira uruhare abantu bose bagomba kugira mu ifatwa ry'ibyemezo bishingirwaho mu buyobozi, nta guheza. Ubu buryo ni bwo, bita « demokarasi itaziguye ». Bubaho mu muryango mutoya (ugizwe n'abantu cyangwa imiryango mikeya). Ubu bwoko bubaho igihe abagize uwo muryango bose bahurira hamwe, bagafata ibyemezo cyangwa bagashyiraho umurongo w'ubuyobozi bifuzwa, hitawe ku bitekerezo bya buri muntu ariko nanone hubahirizwa ibya benshi.
2. Uburyo bwa kabiri busobanura demokarasi nk'ubuyobozi bushingiye ku bitekerezo cyangwa ibyifuzo bya benshi mu muryango runaka w'abantu. Ni ubuyobozi bushingiye ku bwiganze bw'ibitekerezo bya benshi. Ni yo demokarasi iziguye. Ubu bwoko bwa demokarasi bubaho mu muryango munini kandi ufite byinshi bidahuriweho. Muri ubu bwoko bwa demokarasi, aho abantu benshi badashobora guhurira hamwe ngo ku buryo butaziguye biyoborere hamwe, hashakwa uburyo abo bantu bishakamo bakeya bayobora mu izina ryabo, binyuze mu matora.
3. Uburyo bwa gatatu burebura demokarasi mu miterere, uburemere n'akamaro ka politiki zinyuranye z'ubuyobozi. Ubu bwoko bwa demokarasi bubaho iyo ubutegetsu busaranganyijwe hagati y'inzego za Leta zitandukanye, bituma politiki y'izo nzego yuzuzanya ndetse inunganirana. Inzego z'ubuyobozi zegereye abaturage zishyiraho uburyo bworoshye buzihuza n'abayoborwa. Igihugu rero gihitamo uburyo bwa demokarasi bukirereye bitewe n'uko benecyo berekanye ko uburyo bahisemo ari bwo bwiza kurusha ubundi, bityo bukabafasha kugera ku kwishyira ukizana no ku iterambere rihamye.

Muri iki gice, ingingo zibandwaho ni izi:

- Amateka ya demokarasi
- Amahame ya demokarasi
- Demokarasi mu Rwanda
- Demokarasi ibereye u Rwanda
- Inzitizi za demokarasi ibereye u Rwanda
- Ingamba zo kurwanya inzitizi no kubaka demokarasi mu Rwanda.

6.1. Amateka ya demokarasi

Demokarasi nk'ubuyobozi bw'abaturage, bukorera abaturage bunatanga n'abaturage, nta bwo yihuse kugera ku isi yose.

Amateka ya demokarasi atangirira mu Bugereki ahagana mu kinyejana cya gatanu mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu. Mbere y'ikinyejana cya cumi na karindwi nyuma y'ivuka rya Yezu ahenshi ubuyobozi bwaranzwe n'ingoma za cyami. Izo ngoma ntizivugirwamo.

Mu wa 1776, icyaje kuba Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika cyanze ubukoroni n'ingoma y'Abongereza kizamura ibendera rikigenga.

Mu wa 1789, Ubufaransa bwavanyemo ingoma y'igitugu ya cyami bushyiraho Repuburika ishingiyeye kuri demokarasi.

Mu wa 1815, habayeho imyigaragambyo y'abacakara b'Abafaransa n'Abanyamerika.

Mu wa 1917, Uburusiya bwahiritse ingoma y'igitugu y'abami babwo bushyiraho ubutegetsi buturutse ku matora.

Nyuma y'intambara ya mbere y'Isi yose (1914-1918), ibihugu byinshi by'i Burayi byagiye bishyiraho buhoro buhoro ubutegetsi bugendera ku mahame ya demokarasi. Nyuma y'intambara ya kabiri y'Isi yose (1939-1945), ibihugu byinshi by'Aziya, Amerika y'Epfo n'Afurika byagiye birushaho kwigenga no kugendera ku mahame ya demokarasi. Muri Afurika ariko, ubutegetsi bushingiye ku ishyamba rimwe rukumbi bwatobeye mu bihugu byinshi imyitwarire ya demokarasi.

6.2. Amahame ya demokarasi

Amahame ya demokarasi ni menshi ariko ay'ingenzi twavugaga ni aya akurikira:

- Demokarasi igomba gushyigikira ibintu bifite agaciro dusanga mu muco w' igihugu;
- Muri demokarasi umuntu afite uburenganzira bwo gutanga igitekerezo kandi uko abyumva, ntaniganwe ijamba; apfa kuba atanyuranyije n'amategeko;
- Ubuyobozi bugendera ku mategeko kandi bureshyeshya abantu bose imbere yayo;
- Demokarasi igomba kurangwa n'amatora akozwe mu mucyo n'ubwisanzure abaturage bakishyiraho abayobozi;
- Demokarasi igomba kurangwa no kubahiriza uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu;
- Hagomba kubaho uburyo bunoze, busobanutse kandi bushyizweho n'itegeko butuma habaho kugenzurana no kuzuzanya kw'inzego Nyubahirizategeko Nshingamategeko n'urw'Ubucamanza;
- Demokarasi igomba kurangwa na politiki igendera ku mashyamba menshi igihe ari yo nzira yatoranyijwe kandi inogeye abaturage; ni ukuvuga politiki yemera ibitekerezo bitandukanye kandi byuzuzanya;
- Ubuyobozi buriho bugomba gusangirwa, ntibuheze bamwe. Bugomba kugaragaramo inyungu z'ibyiciro byose bigize umuryango w'abanyagihugu;

- Mu buyobozi hagomba kubaho uburyo abayoborwa baha inshingano abayobozi babo ndetse banakurikirana uburyo izo nshingano zishyirwa mu bikorwa;
- Hagomba kubaho uburyo abayoborwa basuzuma imikorere y'abayobora;
- Abayobozi bagomba kumva ko ari inshingano yabo kumenyesha abo bayobora ibyo bakora.

6.3. Demokarasi mu Rwanda

Ku ngoma ya cyami n'ubwo ijambo "demokarasi" ryari ritazwi, mu Rwanda hariho imikorere mu buyobozi yatumaga ibyifuzo bya rubanda bimenyekana. Twavugaga nko gusasa inzobe no gukemura imanza muri gacaca. Iyo mihango yatumaga abategetsu bamenya icyo babanenga.

Ku ngoma ya gikoroni nta wavugaga ko hariho demokarasi kuko ubukoroni ubwabwo bivugaga gukandamiza.

Igihe cyarageze, Umuryango w'Abibumbye utegeka abakoroni ko bategura ibihugu bashinzwe kuyobora kugira ngo bizagere ku majyambere muri politiki, hagamijwe kuziyobora igihe bizaba byahawe ubwigenge. Maze aho ingoma ya gikoroni yikangiyeye ko igiye kuvanwaho yiyitiriyeye kuzana demokarasi mu Rwanda, nuko yadukana ibikorwa by'amatora atagira umucyo n'ubwisanzure, kuko uroye, ingoma ya gikoroni itashakaga kuvaho n'ubwo Umuryango w'Abibumbye wabiyihatiraga. Byashyize kera ingoma ya gikoroni ivaho, ishyiraho ubutegetsu bwo kuyisimbura bwarangwaga n'ivanguramoko mu Banyarwanda, ari byo abakoroni bise demokarasi mu gihe cy'ubutegetsu bwa Repuburika.

Repuburika ya mbere yagendeye kuri icyo demokarasi y'ivanguramoko ndetse iza no kongeraho irondakarere.

Repuburika ya kabiri yaje yogeza ubumwe n'amahoro mu Banyarwanda bishingiye kuri demokarasi nyayo. Nyamara irondakoko n'irondakarere byarakomeje ndetse hiyongeraho n'irondakazu.

Muri rusange, amateka y'ubuyobozi bw'igihugu yaranze n'ubutegetsu buri mu maboko y'abantu bake. Abanyarwanda bategekwe kuba mu ishyamba rimwe rya politiki bagakora amatora ariko bagomba gutora abaturanyijwe n'abategetsu bakuru b'igihugu.

Hariho amategekako ariko ntiyubahirizwaga. Abategetsu na benewabo bakunze kuba hejuru yayo. Uburenganzira bw'Abanyarwanda benshi nta bwo bwubahirizwaga. Abategetsu baricaga bagakiza, ariko abaturage babeshywe ko bari muri demokarasi. Ng'uko uko itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba byateguwe bikanashyirwa mu bikorwa, babwira abantu ko ari demokarasi.

6.4. Demokarasi ibereye u Rwanda

Demokarasi ibereye u Rwanda ni ifasha Abanyarwanda gukemura ibibazo bibugarije: ubukene, ubujiji, ibibazo by'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge, iby'ubutabera n'iby'umutekano. Ni muri urwo rwego Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda aho igiriyeho muri 1994, yihaye ingamba zo kuvugurura ubuyobozi igamije gushimangira imiyobore myiza no kubahiriza amahame ya demokarasi. Izo ngamba zishingiye ku ngingo zikurikira uko ari umunani:

- Kugarura umutekano n'amahoro mu gihugu;
- Kuvugurura ubutegetsu bwite bwa Leta, ubw'amaperefegitura, Komini, Segiteri Selire;
- Guharanira ubwiyunge bw'Abanyarwanda;
- Gucyura, gutuza impunzi no gusubiza mu byabo ababikuwemo n'intambara;
- Guharanira imibereho myiza y'abaturage bose muri rusange no kwita ku bibazo by'abatagira kivurira nk'imfubyi, abapfakazi, abamugaye...;
- Kuzahura ubukungu;
- Kuvugurura Politiki y'ububanyi n'amahanga;
- Gushimangira demokarasi.

Muri urwo rwego, ibikorwa byagezweho ni byinshi. Bimwe ni ibi:

- Habaye inama nyunguranabitekerezo muri Perezidansi ya Repuburika yahuje abanyamashyaka, abanyamadini, abikorera ku giti cyabo n'abandi bahagarariye abaturage mu nzego zitandukanye, guhera muri Gicurasi 1998 kugeza muri Werurwe 1999. Izo nama zageze ku nyandiko zikubiyemo uburyo ubuyobozi bwiza, ubukungu, ubutabera, umutekano n'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge byagerwaho;
- Hakozwe amatora y'abayobozi ba Selire na Segiteri muri werurwe 1999;
- Hashyizweho politiki yo kwegereza abaturage ubuyobozi n'ubushobozi guhera mu mwaka wa 2000;
- Hakozwe amatora y'abayobozi b'Uturere, Imijyi n'Umujyi wa Kigali muri Werurwe 2001;
- Hakozwe amatora y'inyangamugayo z'Inkiko Gacaca mu kwakira 2001, kugira ngo abaturage bagire uruhare mu gukemura ingaruka zatewe n'ishyano ry'itsembabwoko ryagwiririyeye u Rwanda;
- Hakozwe amatora y'abayobozi b'Utugari n'Imirenge muri Werurwe 2002.

6.5. Inzitizi za demokarasi ibereye u Rwanda

Inzitizi za demokarasi uroye ntizigira ingano ariko zose zishingiye kuri ibi bikurikira:

- Ubujiji bwo kutamenya uko imiyobore ibishingiye kuri demokarasi iteye, uko iruta iyindi yose;
- Amateka y'ubutegetsu bubi yaranze u Rwanda akaba ari yo abantu bamenyereye
- Ingaruka z'itsembabwoko n'tsembatsemba zirimo ubukene, ubupfubyi, inzangano inzika n'ibindi;
- Politiki mpuzamahanga yirengagiza rimwe na rimwe inyungu z'u Rwanda;
- Ubuhemu, inda nini, ruswa, ubugambanyi;
- Ubukene;

- Ibibazo bya politiki biri mu karere u Rwanda rurimo;
- Kunigana abandi ijambo;
- Akarengane;
- Ubuyobozi bushingiye ku kwikubira;
- Gufata ubutegetsu ku ngufu;
- Ubutabera buvugirwamo;
- Amategeko atubahirizwa.

6.6. Ingamba zo kurwanya inzitizi no kubaka demokarasi mu Rwanda

Ingamba ubuyobozi bashingiraho kugira ngo hashimangirwe demokarasi ibereye u Rwanda ni izi:

- Kwigisha abenegihugu kumenya no kubaha amategeko;
- Gukomeza kurwanya ubujiji n'ubukene mu Banyarwanda;
- Gukomeza gushyigikira inzego z'ubuyobozi zatowe n'abaturage;
- Gukangurira abaturage imirimo yo kwiteza imbere no kuyishakira inkunga;
- Kurwanya ibitekerezo bibi bishingiye ku macakibiri, inzangano, inda nini n'izindi ngeso mbi;
- Gukomeza gushyigikira uburenganzira bw'abantu;
- Guca ukubiri n'ibyaha n'ibindi bibi byose byakozwe byitirirwa demokarasi;
- Gushyigikira inzira yatangiye iha abaturage uruhare mu buyobozi;
- Gusobanura amateka nyakuri y'u Rwanda;
- Kwerekana no kwemera ko ibitekerezo bitandukanye bishobora kuzuzanya;
- Kwemera gusa amashyamba afite ingengabitekerezo yubaka;
- Kongera agaciro n'ubushobozi by'imiryango Nyarwanda itegamiye kuri Leta kugira ngo na yo yunganire ubuyobozi;
- Kutabangamira ubwisanzure bw'itangazamakuru;
- Gushimangira ubwigenge bw'ubucamanza.

Nk'uko byavuzwe, demokarasi mu Rwanda yadutse igihe kibi, ubutegetsu bufitwe n'abakoroni, kandi icyo gihe ibihugu byinshi by'Afurika n'u Rwanda rurimo byari bitangiye gusaba ubwigenge. Ibyo byatumye abakoroni barushaho kugira amayeri n'ubugome byinshi, kugira ngo bakomeze babe mu gihugu cy'u Rwanda. Maze rero Abanyarwanda bafata demokarasi uko itari, baba ari abahunze, baba n'abari mu gihugu imbere, bese demokarasi bayizi nabi.

Tugeze mu bihe Abanyarwanda bakwiye gushyira mu bikorwa amahameremezo ya demokarasi nyakuri kandi ibereye igihugu cyabo, bakarwanya byimazeyo inzitizi zose zayidindiza. Byaba byiza rero ubuyobozi burushijeho kwigisha demokarasi n'ubuyobozi byiza kandi na bwo bukihatira kurangwa n' imiyoborere myiza.

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7. AMATEKA Y'U RWANDA

Amateka y'u Rwanda yanditswe n'abakoronu guhera muri za 1900, bayandika barengera inyungu zabo za gikoronu ku buryo amenshi mu mateka y'u Rwanda yigishijwe nabi yumvikana uko atari.

Muri iki gihe, ni ngombwa ko Abanyarwanda bamenya amateka yabo nyakuri, kuko igihugu kitazi amateka yacyo kiba kiri mu nzira yo gucika.

Muri iki gice ariko, turibanda ku mateka y'ubutegetsi mu Rwanda kuko ari yo ajyanye n'amatora. Turanavugaga ku mateka y'itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba mu Rwanda.

Gusuzuma iki gice uko gitwe mu mateka y'u Rwanda biradusaba ko dutandukanya ibihe bitatu : ubutegetsi mbere y'ubukoronu, ubutegetsi igihe cy'ubukoronu n'ubutegetsi nyuma y'ubukoronu.

7.1. Ubutegetsi mbere y'ubukoronu (± 1200-1900)

U Rwanda rwagiye rwiubaka buhoro buhoro uhereye ahagana mu kinyejana cya 12, rwagiye rwaguka mu karere gahungu umuco n'ururimi. Uko kwaguka kwavuye mu guhura uduhungu byari bituranye hubakwa u Rwanda rugari.

Ubutegetsi bwa mbere y'ubukoronu bwatangwaga n'ingoma ya cyami. Ingoma ya cyami ni ubutegetsi bwari bushingiye ku muntu umwe bitaga umwami. Umwami yakomokaga ku wundi mwami. Yari umutegetsi utavugirwamo, ukomora ububasha bwe ku Mana. Yakomatanze ubutegetsi nshingira mategeko, nyubahiriza tegeko n'ubucamanza, akica, agakiza. Yaba ari muzima n'u Rwanda rukaba ari ruzima. Uzaba umwami ngo yavukanaga imbuto, abiruka bakaba ari we bazashyiraho aho se atangiye (apfiriye).

Birumvikana ko ibyo by'imbuto bishakira kuvuza ko atatangwaga n'abantu ahungu yatangwaga n'Imana. Ariko mu by'ukuri umwami yashyirwagaho n'inama y'abiruka bashingiye ku mategeko agenga ubwiru agahabwa inshingano azubahiriza ku ngoma ye.

Mu gihugu, abunganyiraga umwami mu butegetsi bari ugutatu:

- Hari abatware b'ingabo bashyirwagaho n'umwami hakurikijwe ubushobozi bwabo mu kurwanirira igihugu, bagategeka imitwe y'ingabo, bagatabara igihugu cyatwe, cyangwa bagatera icyo bifuzaga kwigarurira.
- Hari abatware b'ubutaka, bagategeka abahinzi, n'uburyo bwo gutanga amakoro ibwami n'ibindi bijyanye n'ubuhinzi.
- Hari abatware b'umukene, bagategeka aborozi b'inka n'ibindi bijyanye n'ubwo bworozi.

Umwami ni we wari umutware mukuru w'ingabo. Yarebaga inshingano z'ingabo n'inyungu zazo, agashyirira amategeko akaba ari na we ukuriye ubucamanza mu gihugu; ni we mutware mukuru mu butware bamutegekera, ni we shebuja wa ba shebuja bose

mu gihugu, ariko agatega yombi umugabekazi umuryango w'ibibanda akomokamo, abiru, abatware bakuru barimo umutoni.

Ku ngoma ya cyami, icyaha kiremereye cyane cyari « ukugoma »; bivuga gushaka kwigomeka ku mwami ngo ujye mu mwanya we. icyo gihe umwami yakurimbura n'umuryango wawe wose, cyangwa akaguca cyangwa akakunyaga, akanagusenyera. Ibyo byari bikunze kuba ku bikomangoma no ku batware bakuru.

Gutanga ikoro ry'umwami buri gihe ni byo byerekanaga ko wowe n'abawe muri abayoboze b'ibwami. Kuba intwari ku rugamba no kuba umugaragu w'umwambari byashoboraga gutuma umwami akugira umutware we, akakugabira umusozi, inka ndetse akaba yanagushyingira umukobwa we; ubwo bakavugaga ko umwami aguhatse neza.

Umwami yavaga ku ngoma ari uko apfuye cyangwa byemejwe n'inama y'abiru (agatanga binyuze mu "kunywa amata" cyangwa akaba umutabazi, bishatse kuvugaga ko yatabariraga igihugu akagwa ku rugamba yarabisabwe n'abiru).

Nk'uko bigaragara rero, umwami ntiyatorwaga, nta mitegekere ya demokarasi yagenderagaho, ariko yagishaga inama ibyegera bye. Iyi ngoma ya cyami yaje gutwarwa ububasha n'iya gikoroni.

7.2. Ubutegetsu mu gihe cy'ubukoroni (1900-1962)

Mu nama y'i Berlin (Ugushyirwa 1884-Gashyamba 1885), abazungu bigabanyije Afurika maze bagabira Abadage u Rwanda. Mu wa 1894 ni bwo barugezemo. Bamaze kuhagera bagumishijeho ubwami ariko babwambura ububasha bahereye ku gusenya umuco bwari bushingiyeho n'inzego zibugize bagamije inyungu zabo.

Abadage nta bwo babonye igihe gihagije cyo kugira icyo bahindura kigaragara mu Rwanda ariko Ababiligi bo babasimbuye muri 1916, baratuye barisanzura maze si uguhindagura u Rwanda biva inyuma; ni uko u Rwanda baruhindura urundi ku buryo abantu batari bakigira imiziririzo bavugaga ngo « Kiriziya yakuye kirazira ».

Aho Ababiligi n'abapadiri bera bafatiye ubutegetsu mu Rwanda, bahinduye byinshi cyane muri urwo rwego rw'ubutegetsu; ni na bo badukanye igitekerezo cy'amatora mu wa 1952, gishyirwa mu bikorwa mu wa 1953, ariko babisabwe na LONI nyuma y'uruzinduko intumwa zayo zakoreye mu Rwanda mu wa 1948.

▪ Imitegekere ya gikoroni (1900-1962)

Iyi mitegekere yibanze ku bintu bibiri : kuzonga no gushyiraho ubutegetsu bwa cyami bwariho no gushyiraho ubutegetsu bwa gikoroni. Abatware batatu bariho bashimbujwe umuntu umwe uhagarariye ubutegetsu bwa gikoroni ahinduka umukozi wabo (shefu).

Habanje kubaza umwami kongera kugira uwo yica, uwo aca, uwo anyaga cyangwa agabira (1917-1921); hatangizwa amashuri ya kizungu na gipadiri asimburako amatorero.

Hagati ya 1926-1931, Rezida Mortehehan ashirahamubutegetsi bushyashya: umwami n'abahoze ari abatware be bagirwa abagaragu ba Leta mbiligi ihagarariwe na Guverineri i Bujumbura na Rezida i Kigali. icyo gihe Mortehehan yanyaze abatware b'abahutu, ab'abatutsi bagufi n'ab'abatwa, agabira abatutsi bo mu miryango ikomeye ; ubwo aba avanyeho bwa butegetsi bw'inyabutatu, yimika ivangura ry'amoko.

Mu wa 1931, haje gukurikiraho kumanaho umwami Yuhi V Musinga, bamucira ishyamba, bamusimbura umuhungu we Mutara III Rudahigwa, bamwiyimikira ubwabo, bamutegeka n'uko agomba kwitwara kizungu, gikoroni , arabyemera, arabakorera:

Muri icyo gihe ubutegetsi bwa gikoroni bwaranzwe n'uburetwa, igitugu gikabije, gukoresha Abanyarwanda imirimo badahemberwa nko gucukura amabuye y'agaciro n' akazi kose umukoroni asabye.

Kugeza ubu, mu by'ukuri, Umunyarwanda usanzwe, abasushefu, abashefu cyangwa umwami ubwe, bagizwe ibikoresho by'umukoroni w'umutegetsi, w'umucuruzi cyangwa w'umunyadini.

Umuryango Mpuzamahanga (SDN), ari na wo waje kubyara LONI nyuma y'Intambara ya kabiri y'isi wari watumye u Bubiligi kurera u Rwanda barutoza umuco wa demokarasi no kuziyobora, waje kubona ko Ububiligi bwateshutse ku nshingano zabwo babusaba gukosora imikorere yabwo mu Rwanda.

Twavugaga mbese ko kuva 1945, ibitekerezo byo guharanira kwigenga ari bwo byatangiyemo mu Rwanda. Ni na bwo umwami MUTARA III RUDAHIGWA yatangiye kutumvikana n'abakoroni no kunyuranya na bo mu myumvire n'uburyo ibibazo byariho byakemurwa (uburetwa, ubuhake, akazi...). Muri rusange kandi n'abandi muri Afurika bari batangiye kurwanya ubukoroni.

- *Amatora ya mbere mu Rwanda (1953, 1956, 1960, 1961)*

Aya matora yadukanywe n'umukoroni nta ho byabaye ! Ubusanzwe amatora ni imwe mu nkingi z'ubutegetsi bwa demokarasi ; nta ho byabaye rero ko ubutegetsi bwa gikoroni bugendera kuri demokarasi aho kugendera ku gitugu cya mpatsibihugu.

Kuva mu wa 1926, umukoroni w'Umubiligi yari yahisemo gufata Abanyarwanda bamwe (abatutsi bo mu miryango ikomeye) akabategekesha abandi ariko amategeko agenderwaho ari ay'Ababiligi ndetse n'imyanya y'ubutegetsi nyakuri bwo gufata ibyemezo no gucukura imigambi na byo ari iby'Ababiligi.

Mu wa 1948 ni ho intumwa z'Umuryango w'Abibumbye (Loni) zasabye Ububili kugenda buha Abanyarwanda imyanya mu butegetsi nyakuri no kubatoza kuzacunga ubutegetsi bo ubwabo igihe u Rwanda ruzagera ku bwigenge.

Ibyo abakoroni bagiyemo babyangira, ariko kugira ngo bikize Umuryango w'Abibumbye, bashyizeho itegeko ryitwa iteka ryo ku wa 14 Nyakanga 1952 rigenga amatora. Mu wa 1953 rero bakoresha amatora y'inama ya susheferi, inama ya sheferi inama ya teritwari

n'Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu. Urutonde rw'abagomba gutorwa nk'abajyanama ba susheferi rwakorwaga na sushefu ubwe, bivuga ko abatawugaga rumwe na we atabashyiragaho, kandi uwari ukuriye iyo nama yari sushefu ubwe. Iyo nama ni yo yagombaga kohereza abajya gutora inama ya sheferi, na sushefu arimo. Inama yamara gutorwa ikayoborwa na shefu ubwe. Iyo nama na yo igashyiraho abajya gutora inama teritwari, kandi abashefu bose bakagomba kuba bayirimo, kandi ni muri bo hagomba gutorwa uyobora iyo nama. Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu yagombaga kugirwa n'abatowe mu bagize inama zinyuranye za teritwari, abashefu batandatu batowe n'abandi bashefu n'abandi babaga bahagarariye inzego zimwe na zimwe zigenga. Hagombaga kubamo abayobora inama za teritwari bose, kandi ikayoborwa n'umwami. Biragaragara ko nta demokarasi yari irimo na gato. Nko mu Nama Nkuru y'Igihugu yari iyobowe n'umwami, umwami baramutinyaga, nta watinyukaga kumuvuguruza. Ubutegetsu rero bwakomeje kuba nka mbere y'iyi ngirwamatora, abazungu bakomeza gutegekana n'abo bategekanaga mbere.

Mu wa 1956, Ababiligi bongeye gukoresha amatora, ariko noneho aho kugira ngo umushefu abe ari we ukora urutonde rw'abashobora gutorwa nko mu wa 1953, bateganya ko abaturage ubwabo bazagira uruhare mu gushyiraho urwo rutonde ; byapfuye kuruta ibyo mu wa 1953, ariko mu rwego rwo hejuru demokarasi nyayo yabaye nke. Abo bajyanama nta byemezo bashoboraga gufata ubutegetsu butabishaka ; ubundi rero batorwaga mu bo sushefu yihitiyemo. Ni ukuvuga ko bitaraba demokarasi n'ubwo byari amatora bwose !

Mu wa 1957, Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu iyobowe n'umwami Rudahigwa yaje guhinduka Ababiligi, ihinyura imitegekere yabo mu nyandiko yiswe "Mise au point" Iyo nama kandi yari yiganjemo abatutsi bari basanzwe bategekera abakoroni.

Iyi nyandiko yababaje Ababiligi, batangira gushaka uko bakwigizayo abashefu b'abatutsi babakoreraga ngo babasimbuze abahutu bize bari bamaze kwiyegezeza kuko ngo bo batashakaga ubwigenge bw'ako kanya. Nguko uko amoko yagiye akoreshwa n'Ababiligi mu gutuma Abanyarwanda bahangana bakarwana ku nyungu z'ubukoroni.

Ubwo ntibyatinze Rudahigwa wari ku isonga y'abashaka ubwigenge aba arapfuye Urupfu rwe nk'umuhuza w'Abanyarwanda rwabaye imbarutso y'ivuka ry'amashyaka y'ingenzi menshi mu gihugu ndetse amwe ashingiyeye ku macakubiri y'ubwoko. Ay'ingenzi muri yo yari APROSOMA, UNAR, RADER na PARMEHUTU. Ayo mashyaka ni na yo yaje guhangana mu matora yo mu wa 1960 na 1961.

Mu wa 1960, bakoresheje amatora y'abajyanama b'amakomini ariko aba mu bihe by'imidugararo yatangiye mu wa 1959 itewe n'ikibazo cy'amoko, ku buryo demokarasi itashoboye kubahirizwa. Mu wa 1961, haba ihirika ry'ubutegetsu bwariho hashingwa Repuburika. Nyuma, muri uwo mwaka, hakurikiyeho "referendum" isabwe na Loni, kugira ngo babaze abaturage niba bifuzaga umwami cyangwa repuburika, ariko biba mu bihe by'imvururu, igice kimwe cy'abaturage cyarahunze, ku buryo nta demokarasi yubahirijwe na gato. Iyo "referendum" ni yo yakuyeho ubwami, igihugu kiba Repuburika.

Mu by'ukuri, umukoroni we yageze ku cyo yashakaga; guhabya Abanyarwanda bashakaga kumwirukana. Nta bwo yagenzwaga na demokarasi cyangwa se gukoresha amatora atabogamye. Aho inkubiri y'ubwigenge iziye yakoze uko ashoboye kugera ngo asigarirwe ku rugo n'abo yari yafashije kugera ku butegetsi (abategetsi ba Parmehutu na Aprosoma).

Igikunze kugaragara ni uko ingoma ya gikoroni yahinduye imitegekere mu Rwanda, ihindura abategetsi byitwa ko bijyanye n'amahame ya demokarasi, nyamara byari amacenga ndetse yitwaje irondakoko n'itsembatsemba.

7.3. Ubutegetsi nyuma y'ubukoroni (1962-1994)

Ubutegetsi nyuma y'ubukoroni bwadukanye ubutegetsi bwitwa ubwa Repuburika. Iri jambo riva ku kiratini « res publica » (ikintu cya rubanda). Ubutegetsi bwa Repuburika bivuga ubutegetsi bwa rubanda ari bwo demokarasi.

Muri aka gace turavugamo:

- Repuburika ya mbere
- Repuburika ya kabiri
- Itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba
- Ubutegetsi nyuma y'itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba.

▪ Ingoma ya Repuburika ya mbere (1962-1973)

Aho ingoma ya cyami n'iya gikoroni biviriyeho, Abanyarwanda bagombaga gushaka inzira nshyashya, itagira amakemwa, yo kwicunga, yo kwitegeka, yo kwishyiriraho abategetsi, yo kubavanaho cyangwa yo kububahiriza. Ni muri urwo rwego tugiye kureba uko ubutegetsi bwagenze, uko amatora yakomejwe.

▪ Ubutegetsi kuri Repuburika ya mbere

Icyamba mbere ishyamba rya Parmehutu ryakoze ni ugucecekesha andi mashyamba no kuyavanaho, noneho risigara ari ryo ryonyine rukumbi ! Abataravugaga rumwe n'iryo shyamba barahigwa, baricwa, abandi barahungu. Ni ho havuye imvugo ngo « hora, honga, hunga ».

Mu wa 1963-1964, ku Gikongoro habaye kwica abatutsi, kandi ubutegetsi bwa Leta bubihagarariye.

▪ Amatora muri Repuburika ya mbere

Habayeho amatora menshi ya Komini, ay'Inteko Ishinga Amategeko n'aya Perezida ariko yose ugasanga atarangwa na demokarasi, nta mucyo, nta bwisanzure akoreramo biterwa no gushakira kugundira ubutegetsi bya Kayibanda n'inkoramutima ze z'i Gitarama. Uwashakaga kugera kuri ubwo butegetsi mu zindi nzira yigizwagayo.

Ayo matwara ya gikoroni yo kwikiza uwo mutavuga rumwe umwica yarakomeje yirasira abatutsi mu turere twose tw'u Rwanda kugeza aho iyo ngoma iviriyeho; ariko aza no kototera abahutu mu wa 1973.

- *Ingoma ya Repuburika ya kabiri (1973 -1994)*

Ingoma ya Repuburika ya kabiri na yo yaranzwe n'ubutegetsi butagendera ku mahame ya demokarasi, irongera irangwa n'amatora y'ikinamico ndetse n'itsembabwoko rurangiza !

- *Ubutegetsi kuri Repuburika ya kabiri*

Ubutegetsi kuri iyi Repuburika bwakunze kumungwa n'amacakubiri ashingiye ku bintu bine : irondakoko, irondakarere, irondakazu k'ikiguri nunga no gucubya ibitekerezo.

Izi mungu ni zo zaburijemo amahame ya demokarasi ajyanye nuburinganire imbere y'amategeko, uburenganzira bwa muntu, kwisanzura mu bitekerezo n'ibindi.

Politiki y' iringaniza mu mashuri, mu mirimo ya Leta n' iy' ihezwa mu mirimo ya gisirikari ni zo zagizwe ihame ryo gutegeka. Izo politiki zaje kubyara amahari muri MRND (Ishyamba rukumbi ryashyizweho mu wa 1975) no mu gihugu hose, zituma havuka bundi bushya amashyamba ya politiki arwanya ubutegetsi buriho bwarangwaga n'amatora afititse.

- *Amatora kuri Repuburika ya kabiri*

Ubutegetsi kuri iyi ngoma bwakoresheje amatora menshi nk'ayo muri Repuburika ya mbere ariko umugambi yose yahuriragaho ukaba uyu : « ufite ubutegetsi agomba kubugumana uko byagenda kose ».

Uyu mugambi ni umwe mu yahembereye igitekerezo cy'itsembabwo mu mitwe y'« ikiguri n'unga ».

- *Itsembabwoko n'Itsembatsemba kuri Repuburika ya kabiri*

Iyo umuntu ashubije amaso inyuma asanga imungu yamungaga Repuburika ya mbere yaramunze birushijeho iya kabiri.

Ijya kujyaho yahitanye abatutsi batari bake ikurikizaho abahutu biganjemo ab'i Gitarama bari mu butegetsi ; nyuma aho Inkotanyi zitereye, Repuburika ya kabiri yagiye yica abatutsi impande zose n'abahutu batavugaga rumwe na yo : Kibilira, Bugesera, Bigogwe, Kibuye...

Aho Habyarimana apfiriye itsembabwoko rurangiza rikwira u Rwanda rwose. Nyuma y'aho, ubutegetsi yari asize ni bwo bwashyize mu bikorwa itsembabwoko burundu n'itsembatsemba bugamije kuzatsinda amatora yari yarateganyijwe mu masezerano y'Arusha yo ku wa 04/08/1993.

Uroye ni wa mugambi w'ikiguri nûnga wakoze ishyano : « ufite ubutegetsu agomba kubugumana uko byagenda kose ».

« Uko byagenda kose » ni byo bisobanura impamvu y'itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba. Iki rero kikaba nta ho gihuriye na demokarasi cyangwa na Leta igendera ku mategeko.

Iyo umaze kwica abakurwanyaga bose mu by'ubutegetsu, amatora ukoresha aba ari ayo gusetsa imihari, nta bwo aba ari amatora kuko gutora ni uguhitamo, si uguhitirwamo. Byongeye kandi nta wushyiraho amatora atemera gusimburwa hakurikijwe amahame ya demokarasi.

Ubutegetsu ni bwo bwacuze bushyira no mu bikorwa umugambi w' itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba ry'abatabyinaga umudiho umwe na bwo.

▪ *Ubutegetsu nyuma y'itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba*

Bimwe mu bikorwa by'ingenzi byakozwe na Guverinoma y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda ni ibi bikurikira:

- kugarura umutekano;
- guhagarika itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba;
- gushishikariza Abanyarwanda ubumwe n'ubwiyunge;
- gucyura impunzi;
- gushyiraho inzego za Leta na politiki yo kwegereza abaturage ubuyobozi;
- guteza imbere umubano n'amahanga;
- kuzamura ubukungu;
- kuvugurura ubutabera no gushimangira ubutegetsu bugendera ku mategeko.

Twasoza tuvuga ko ingoma ya cyami yari ifite ubutegetsu bwayo bwihariye bujyanye n'umuco wa kinyarwanda w'icyo gihe, nta matora yabagaho.

Ingoma ya gikoroni yaje ivanaho ingoma ya cyami, bukeye ndetse yadukana amatora n' ivangura ry' amoko.

Ingoma za Repuburika zadutse zibyina umudiho wa gikoroni zikoresha irondakoko n'irondakarere karahava no gutsemba ubwoko ntizabitinye.

Ndetse Repuburika ya kabiri yongeyeho umwihariko w' « amokoryango », itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba, nuko kwironda no kwiharira birimikwa biba umuco. Umuco gikoroni wo kugonganisha abo utegeka ngo ubone uko ubanyunyuzamo utwabo uhawe intebe.

Kwanga iyo ngoma ni byo byateye itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba rurangiza, kuko nta bwo yari icyizeye icyo amatora yigenga yavamo. Muri rusange rero, u Rwanda rwakunze kugira ubutegetsu bubi, butagendera ku nyungu z'Umunyarwanda, ibyo bikaba ari imwe mu mpamvu u Rwanda rutateye imbere. Niba dushaka gutera imbere birambye, aya mateka yacu aratwigisha ko dukwiye kwirinda impamvu zose zatuma habaho ubutegetsu bubi busenya u Rwanda, tugaharanira demokarasi nyakuri, uburenganzira n'ubumwe by'Abanyarwanda bose. Ni bwo buryo nyabwo bwo gukunda igihugu cyacu.

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8. AMATORA

Bumwe mu buryo abaturage bakoresha kugira ngo bagire ijamba mu buyobozi bwabo ni ukubwishyiriraho binyuze mu matora.

Amatora muri rusange ni uburyo bwo guhitamo. Ku bijyanye no gushyiraho ubuyobozi abaturage bakoresha gutora iyo bahitamo abayobozi bifuza ko babayobora.

Mu guhitamo abayobozi binyuze mu matora, umuturage ku giti cye cyangwa afatanyije n'abandi bafite inyungu bahuriyeho batara abayobozi ku giti cyabo cyangwa imitwe ya politiki bahagarariye babona izabageza ku nyungu zabo mu gihe runaka.

Itegeko riteganyaye igihe amatora abera n'igihe abatowe bazamara ku buyobozi. Muri icyo gihe abatowe bamara ku buyobozi, abaturage baba bakurikiranira hafi imikorere yabo cyangwa umutwe wa politiki batoye mu rwego rwo gushyira mu bikorwa ibiba byarasezeranyijwe abatora.

Iyo igihe abayobozi batorewe kirangiye, abatora bongera guhabwa umwanya wo kukibongerera, iyo bakoze neza cyangwa bagashyiraho abandi bayobozi bashya binyuze mu matora akozwe mu mucyo no mu bwisanzure.

8.1. Amateka y'amatora

Muri rusange, amateka y'amatora ni maremare. Mu mateka y'amatora ku biboneka ko yatangiye mu gihugu cy'Ubugiriki mu kinyejana cya gatanu mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu. Muri icyo gihe abaturage, cyane abari batuye imijyi, bari bamaze kuba benshi ku buryo bari batagishobora kwiyoborera hamwe bose. Uburyo bw'amatora bwakoreshwagwa ni tombora kubera ko byumvikanaga ko buri muturage yabaga ubushobozi bwo kuyobora.

Uko ubuyobozi bushingiye ku mahame ya demokarasi bwagiye bushinga imizi na ko amatora yagiye asakara mu bihugu binyuranye ku isi mu bihe binyuranye. Ni mpamvu biboneka ko amatora amaze kumenyerwa mu bihugu by'Uburayi n'Amerika y'amajyaruguru kurusha muri Afurika, Aziya n'Amerika y'amajyepfo.

By'umwihariko mu Rwanda habayeho amatora anyuranye mu bihe bitandukanye. Mu wa 1953 no mu wa 1956 habayeho amatora y'abajyanama ba susheferi, sheferi, teritwari n'abo mu rwego rw'igihugu. Ayo matora yari aziguye cyane kandi abo bajyanama mu by'ukuri nta bubasha bwo kuyobora bari bafite; bari ibikoreshe by'umukoronzi gusa.

Mu wa 1960 no mu wa 1961, habayeho amatora ya Komini n'aya Kamarampaka. Ayo matora yabaye igihugu cyaracitsemu ibice bishingiye ku mashyamba ya politiki n'amoko. Ayo matora nanone yabaye hari igice kinini cy'Abanyarwanda cyari impunzi.

Muri rusange, ayo matora yaranze n'umwuka mubi n'iterabwoba, ndetse n'ibyavuyemo hari Abanyarwanda benshi batabihaye agaciro.

Hagati ya 1967 na 1973, habaye amatora y'abayobozi ba segiteri, ay'abajyanama b'amakomini n'abayobozi bayo. Mu wa 1981 na 1988 habaye amatora y'intumwa za rubanda (Abadepite).

Kuri Repuburika ya mbere, Perezida yatowe kabiri, kuri Repuburika ya kabiri, Perezida yatowe gatatu.

Muri rusange, amatora yose mu Rwanda yakunze kurangwa n'ibintu bikurikira:

- Uruhare rw'abaturage mu kwishyiriraho abategetsu rwari ruto cyane;
- Amatora yakoreshejwe na Leta n'inzego zayo cyane cyane inzego z'ubuyobozi harimo Minisiteri yari ifite ubutegetsu bw'igihugu mu nshingano zayo;
- Hari ishyamba rimwe rukumbi (MDR Parmehutu cyangwa MRND), abatorwaga bose bari abarwanashyamba b'iryo shyamba;
- Leta n'ishyamba ni byo byatangaga abakandida abaturage bagombaga gutora;
- Abatorwaga babaga bazwi mbere y'uko amatora aba ; ni ukuvuga ko nta washoboraga gutorwa abategetsu batabishakaga;
- Aya matora yose yabaye nta cyo yagejeje ku Rwanda mu rwego rw'ubuyobozi bwiza ahubwo yagejeje ku buyobozi bubi bwaje gushora igihugu mu itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba.

8.2. Isano y'amatora na demokarasi

Kugira ngo dushobore kwerekana isano demokarasi ifitanye n'amatora ni ngombwa ko hamenyekana aho bihuriye.

Dushingiye ku buryo demokarasi isobanurwa, cyane cyane ku gice cyerekana ko kugira ngo demokarasi ibeho, ubuyobozi bugomba gutangwa n'abaturage binyuze mu matora. Ni ukuvuga ko amatora ari inzira ushaka gukorera muri demokarasi agomba kunyuramo. Binyuze mu matora abayoborwa bishyiriraho inzego z'ubuyobozi n'abayobozi baha inshingano yo gukora mu izina ryabo ibyo badashobora kwikorera cyangwa kubafasha gukora ibyo bafitemo integere nkeya. Demokarasi n'amatora rero ni magirirane. Nta demokarasi nyakuri yabaho hatabayeho amatora ngo abaturage bishyirireho ubuyobozi.

8.3. Ubwoko bw'amatora

Muri rusange, hari Ubwoko bwinshi bw'amatora bukoreshwa mu bihugu binyuranye. Hakurikijwe isano Ubwoko bw'amatora bufitanye n'uburyo amajwi umukandida cyangwa ishyamba ryabonye ahindurwamo imyanya yatsindiye, Ubwoko bw'amatora bushyirwa mu miryango itatu migari, ari yo:

Ubwoko busakuma imyanya itorerwa:

- Ubwoko bw'amatora butuma imyanya isaranganywa hagati y'amashyamba ya politiki;
- Ubwoko bufata impu zombi.

• Ubwoko busakuma imyanya itorerwa

Ubu bwoko bw'amatora busakuma imyanya yose hakurikijwe ko uwatowe (Ishyamba rya politiki cyangwa umuntu ku giti cye) ari uwabonye ubwiganze bw'amajwi cyangwa amajwi menshi).

- *Bimwe mu byiza ubu bwoko bushimwa:*
 - Ni ubwoko bworoshye gutegura no kuyobora;
 - Igihe hatorwa abadepite byorohera abaturage gukurikirana imikorere yabo baba baratowe mu karere runaka kazwi;
 - Muri demokarasi ishingiyeye ku mashyaka ya politiki menshi, byorohera ishyaka ryatsinze amatora gushyiraho Guverinoma itanyeganyega bityo ishobora gushyira mu bikorwa neza politike yayo;
 - Ubu bwoko bw'amatora buha amahirwe umukandida ufite ubushobozi ariko adafite ishyaka rya politiki abamo kuba yatorwa ku giti cye.
- *Bimwe mu byo ubu bwoko bunengwa*
 - Ubu bwoko bukumira ishyaka rya politiki rifite abayoboze bake guhagararirwa bihagije mu nzego z'ubuyobozi;
 - Butiza ingufu ishyirwaho rya politiki ishingiyeye ku ishyaka rya politiki rimwe cyangwa abiri akomeye;
 - Ubu bwoko butiza ingufu ivuka ry'amashyaka ya politiki ashingiyeye ku moko n'uturere. Ubu bwoko cyangwa akarere gafite abatora benshi bishobora kwiharira ubutegetsi;
 - Ubu bwoko bw'amatora bukunze akenshi kubyara amakimbirane mu gihe cyo gushyiraho uturere tw'itora. Ibyo bibaho cyane igihe akarere k'itora kagira ugahagararira umwe mu nteko.
- **Ubwoko bw'amatora butuma imyanya isaranganywa hagati y'amashyaka ya politiki**

Ubu bwoko butuma amashyaka ya politiki asaranganya imyanya hakurikijwe imbaraga za buri shyamba mu turere tw'itora n'umubare w'imyanya ipiganirwa.

Ubu bwoko bw'amatora bukunze gukoreshwa mu matora y'abadepite batanzwe n'amashyaka ya politiki cyangwa itorwa ry'amashyaka ubwaryo mbere asaranganya imyanya yatorewe.

- *Bimwe mu byiza ubu bwoko bushimwa:*
 - Butuma amashyaka ya politiki afite abayoboze bake na yo ashobora guhagararirwa, abakandida badafite amashyaka baratorwa;
 - Iyo ubu bwoko bw'amatora bumaze kumenyerwa, kubwumva biroroha ndetse n'ibarura ry'amajwi rikoroha.
- *Bimwe mu byo ubu bwoko bunengwa*
 - Ubu bwoko bw'amatora bukunze kujyana na Guverinoma zihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi mu gihe habuze ishyamba ryagize ubwiganze bw'amajwi. Muri icyo gihe ifatwa ry'ibyemezo n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya gahunda ya Guverinoma bikunze kugorana.
 - Umudepite uri mu nteko nta bwo yiyumvamo nk'uhagarariye Akarere ahubwo ko ari uw'ishyamba rya politiki rye n'abayobozi baryo.

- Ntibyorohera abaturage kugenzura no gukurikirana imikorere y'inteko cyane cyane iyo abadepite bavuye kuri lisiti z'amashyaka ku rwego rw'igihugu .

- **Ubwoko bufata impu zombi**

Ubu bwoko bukoreshwa cyane mu gihugu gifite amashyaka menshi ya politiki, butuma ishyamba ritashoboye kubona imyanya mu turere tw'amatora rishobora kubona imyanya iba yagenwe ku rwego rw'igihugu bitewe n'amajwi ryagize ku rwego rw'igihugu.

- *Ibishimwa kuri ubu bwoko bw'itora:*

- Ni uko bufata impu zombi. Amashyaka ya politiki atashoboye gutorwa mu turere tw'itora agira amahirwe yo kuba yahabwa intebe kuzibarurirwa ku rwego rw'igihugu iyo afite amajwi hira no hino mu gihugu.
- Ubu bwoko na none buha utora amahirwe yo kugira ijwi ritanga umwanya mu rwego rw'Akarere no ku rwego rw'igihugu .

- *Ibinegwa kuri ubu baryo bw'itora*

- Butuma habaho ibyiciro bibiri by'abadepite bamwe bafitanye isano n'uturere tw'itora n'abandi baturuka kuri lisiti z'amashyaka ya politiki ku rwego rw'igihugu badafitanye isano n'uturere tw'itora ahubwo barifitanye n'abayobozi b'amashyaka
- Ni ubwoko bw'amatora bugoye kumva , busaba guhugura cyane abatora .

Nk'uko byavuzwe haruguru, mu gihe cyo guhitamo ubwoko bw'amatora bukoreshwa, hagomba kwitabwaho ibi bikurikira:

- isura n'ubushobozi by'igihugu amatora ategurwamo;
- ubumwe bw'abanyagihugu;
- amateka y'igihugu muri rusange, cyane cyane aya politiki;
- imiturire mu gihugu;
- urwego rwa demokarasi igihugu kigezemo;
- Ubushobozi bw'igihugu.

8.4. Uburyo bwo gutora

Igihe umuntu ahitamo uburyo bwo gutora aba yibaza ibintu bibiri:

- icyo yifuza kugeraho cyiza mu buryo bwo gutora bwatoranyijwe
- icyo yifuza kwirinda kibi mu buryo bwo gutora bwatoranyijwe.

Ibyo ari byo byose, uburyo bwo gutora bwatoranyijwe bugomba:

- kuba bworoshye;
- kujyana n'ubushobozi bw'igihugu kandi bubereye abaturage ;
- kuba uburyo butagoye bushobora gukoreshwa na buri wese;
- gutuma amatora akorwa mu mucyo no mu bwisanzure.

Hashingiwe ku bwoko bw'amatora ubwo ari bwo bwose, hari uburyo bubiri bw'itora. Uburyo bwa mbere ni uburyo **buziguye**, ubwa kabiri ni uburyo **butaziguye**. Ubu buryo bwombi bushobora gukoreshwa mu ibanga cyangwa butari ibanga.

- *Uburyo butaziguye bw'ibanga*

Icyo bushimwa:

- Ubu buryo bushimwa kuba buha abatora umwanya wo gutora ku giti cyabo abo bifuzabababazobora;
- Butuma nanone abatowe bumva bafitanye isano ifatika n'ababatoze bityo n'imikorere yabo muri rusange igashingira kuri icyo sano;
- Amatora akozwe mu ibanga aha utora umwanya n'ubwisanzure bwo gutora koko umuri ku mutima;
- Amatora y'ibanga nanone atuma abatora barushaho kugirira icyizere ibivuye mu matora.

Urugero ni amatora y'Abajyanama muri Njyanama z'Uturere n'Imijyi mu Rwanda yabaye tariki ya 06 werurwe 2001.

Icyo bunengwa:

- Kuba buhenze
- Gutinda
- Gusimbura abatowe igihe bibaye ngombwa biragora.

- *Uburyo butaziguye butari ibanga*

Icyo bushimwa:

- Burahendutse cyane kandi bushobora gukoreshwa igihe cyose bibaye ngombwa;
- Amatora akozwe muri ubu buryo nta mahane akurura hagati y'abatoresha n'abatora ndetse no hagati y'abatora dore ko akorwa ku mugaragaro;
- Butuma abatora bitorera ku giti cyabo mu ruhamo abayobozi bashakira. Urugero rw'ubu buryo bw'itora ni amatora y'abagize Komite Nyobozi z'Utugari mu Rwanda yabaye tariki ya 25 werurwe 2002.

Icyo bunegwa:

- Nta banga bituma hashobora kuba amatora adakozwe mu bwisanzure cyane mu bihugu bikiri inyuma mu myumvire ya demokarasi inyuzemo mu matora;
- Igikorwa cy'amatora gishobora gutinda igihe kitateguwe neza;
- Amatora ataziguye atuma gusimbura uwatowe igihe atuzuzamo inshingano yatorewe bigoranye.

- *Uburyo buziguye bw'ibanga*

Icyo bushimwa

- Ibanga rituma amatora aba mu bwisanzure. Kubera ibanga nanone abatora barushaho kugirira icyizere amatora n'ibiyavuyemo
- Bworoshye gutegura no kuyobora
- Burahendutse
- Gusimbura uwatowe igihe bibaye ngombwa biroroha.

Icyo bunegwa

- Abatora ntibitorera ku giti cyabo. Akenshi baba badafitiye icyizere ababatorera ;
- Inteko itora iba igizwe n'abantu bake bahagarariye abandi benshi; Urugero rw'ubu buryo bw'itoro ni amatora y'abagize Komite Nyobozi z'Imirenge, Uturere, Imijyi n'Umujyi wa Kigali mu Rwanda.

- *Uburyo buziguye butari ibanga*

Ubu buryo bufite inyungu y'uko:

- Bworoshye gutegura no kuyobora;
- Burahendutse cyane;
- Bworohera abatoye gusimbura uwatowe igihe atuzura neza inshingano ze;
- Amatora akorwa ku mugaragaro.

Ubu buryo bunengwaho nk'ibimaze kuvugwa ku buryo buziguye bw'ibanga hiyongereyeho ko nta banga .

Urugero mu Rwanda ni amatora y'abagize Komite Nyobozi y'Umurenge yabaye muri 1999.

8.5. Amategeko n'amabwiriza bigenga amatora

Buri tora rigira itegeko cyangwa amabwiriza arigenga. Itegeko rigenga uburyo amatora akorwamo rikagenda abatora, abashobora kwiyamamaza gutorwa, abashinzwe kuyobora amatora, ibikoresho by'itoro, ibyaha biyanye n'itoro ndetse n'ibihano biteganyirizwa abatubahiriza itegeko ry'itoro. Akenshi amabwiriza aza arushaho gusobanura no kuzura ayo mategeko.

Amategeko atorwa n'inzego zishinzwe kuyashyira naho amabwiriza atangwa n'inzego zishinzwe gutegura no kuyobora amatora.

Muri rusange, bimwe mu by'ingenzi cyangwa amahame agenga amategeko n'amabwiriza bigenga itora iryo ari ryo ryose ni ibi bikurikira:

- Itegeko n'amabwiriza bigenga amatora bigomba kuba bishingiye ku bwoko bw'amatora n'uburyo bwayo bwatoranyijwe bubereye igihugu;

- Itegeko n'amabwiriza bigenga amatora bigomba kuba byanditswe neza byumvikana ku buryo bworohereye ibyiciro byose by'abatora;
- Itegeko n'amabwiriza bigenga amatora bigomba gukorwa ku buryo bitanga umurongo bikanasobanura ku buryo butaziguye ibyiciro binyuranye by'itora n'imigendekere yaryo muri rusange;
- Itegeko rigenga amatora n'amabwiriza arishamikiyeho bigomba kutagira aho bibogamiye mu rwego rw'abari mu rubuga rwa politiki. Ku buryo bw'umwihariko abatora bagomba guhabwa amahirwe angana yo gutora ku ruhande rumwe no gutorwa ku rundi ruhande. Imitegurire n'imiterere y'itegeko rigenga itora bigomba gutanga icyizere cy'ibizava mu matora mbere y'uko aba;
- Amategeko n'amabwiriza bigomba gutegurwa ku buryo byubahirizwa n'abari mu mirimo y'amatora bose;
- Muri rusange itegeko n'amabwiriza bigenga amatora bigomba gushingira kandi bikuzuza amahameremezo akubiye mu Itegeko Nshinga ku bijyanye n'ubuyobozi n'imiyoborere.

Mu Rwanda kugeza ubu, Amategeko n'amabwiriza agenga amatora yagiye yubahiriza amwe mu mahame yavuzwe andi ntubahirijwe nk'uko bigaragara mu mateka y'amatora. Intego igamijwe muri iki gihe ni uko ayo mahame yose yakubahirizwa.

Mu mategeko n'amabwiriza bigenga amatora, hari ingingo z'ingenzi zikunze kugaraga:

- *Kugena uturere tw'itora n'ibiro by'itora*

Urwego rushinzwe amatora rushingiye ku biteganywa n'itegeko n'amabwiriza bigenga amatora rugomba hakiri kare kugena no kumenyekanisha uturere tw'itora n'ibiro by'itora. Uretse kubahiriza itegeko, ibyo bigomba gukorwa ku buryo bworoshya itora.

- *Ibisabwa utora, utorwa n'abashinzwe imirimo y'amatora.*

Itegeko rigenga amatora rigena uwemerewe gutora no gutorwa n'utabyemerewe. Abashinzwe imirimo y'amatora na bo itegeko rigena inshingano zabo.

- *Kwandika abaturage kuri lisiti y'itora no kubaha ikarita y'itora.*

Lisiti y'itora ni urutonde rw'amazina y'abantu biyandikishije kugira ngo bazatore. Lisiti y'itora ijyana n'ikarita y'itora ihabwa uwiandikishije. Iyo karita y'itora ikoreshwa ku munsu w'itora.

Bimwe mu bigaragaza akamaro ka lisiti y'itora ni ibi bikurikira:

- Lisiti y'itora iberaho kugira ngo hamenyekane abemerewe gutora
- Lisiti y'itora iyo ikozwe ikanakoreshwa neza ituma amatora akorwa neza nta buriganya
- Iyo lisiti y'itora yakozwe ikanakoreshwa neza igihe cy'amatora, nyuma yayo hamenyekana abantu bitabiriye itora ari na bwo buryo bumwe bwerekana agaciro n'icyizere abayobozi batowe baba bafitiwe

- Lisiti y'itora ishobora gukoreshwa n'izindi nzego za Leta mu rwego rw'igenamigambi cyangwa mu bindi bikorwa by'ubuyobozi bisanzwe.

- *Kwakira no kwemeza kandidatire.*

Itegeko riteganywa ibisabwa abakandida n'igihe cyo gutangira kandidatire. Itegeko nanone riha amahirwe angana abantu bose bashaka gutorwa kandi bujuje ibiteganywa n'itegeko. Kandidatire z'abujuje ibyangombwa ziremerwa bikamenyeshwa abaturage.

- *Kwiyamamaza kw'abakandida.*

Kwiyamamaza ni uburyo bwo kwimenyekanisha no kumenyekanisha gahunda umukandida aba afite yerekana akamaro azagirira abaturage.

Uburyo n'igihe cyo kwiyamamaza bigenwa n'itegeko cyangwa amabwiriza y'urwego rushinzwe gutegura no kuyobora amatora.

Kwiyamamaza

- Biha umukandida umwanya wo kwiyereka abatora no kubasobanurira gahunda abafitiye;
- Biha kandi abatora uburyo bwo guhitamo neza bashingiye ku bushobozi na gahunda by'abakandida;
- Iyo bikoze neza bituma abakandida badashyamirana;
- Iyo abakandida ari benshi, uwatsinze amatora ashobora kwifashisha bimwe mu byiza biri muri gahunda z'abandi bakandida.

- *Ibikoresho by'itora*

Itegeko n'amabwiriza bigenga amatora bigena imiterere n'imikoreshereze y'ibikoresho by'amatora.

- *Kuyobora amatora*

Hakurikijwe ibiteganywa n'itegeko, ku munsu w'itora abashinzwe amatora ku nzego zose bakora ibishoboka byose kugira ngo amatora akorwe ku buryo bunoze, mu mucyo no mu bwisanzure. Uburyo amatora yayobowe ni bwo ahanini buha agaciro amatora n'ibiyavuyemo.

- *Kubarura amajwi no gutangaza abatowe*

Abashinzwe imirimo y'amatora ku biro by'itora babarura amajwi ku munsu uteganywa n'itegeko, nyuma hagatangazwa abatowe. Amajwi agomba kubarurwa neza kandi ku mugaragaro. Ibyo iyo bikoze mu mucyo, itora rirushaho guhabwa icyizere ndetse n'abatowe na bo bagahabwa agaciro n'ababatoye.

- *Gukemura impaka zivuye mu matora*

Hashingiwe ku mategeko n'amabwiriza bigenga amatora, impaka zikomoka ku matora mu byiciro byayo byose zikemurwa n'inzego zishinzwe amatora cyangwa iz'ubucamanza.

- *Ibihano biteganyirizwa ababangamira imigendekere myiza y'amatora*

Itegeko rigenga amatora riteganya ibihano binyuranye ku muntu uwo ari we wese cyangwa urwego bibangamira imigendekere myiza y'amatora.

- *Gukora raporo y'amatora*

Nyuma y'amatora, urwego rushinzwe amatora rukora raporo y'amatora rusange yerekana uko amatora yateguwe, uko yayobowe, abatoye, abatowe, inzitizi zagaragaye zakemuwe, amafaranga yakoreshejwe n'uburyo yakoreshejwe, amasomo yavuye mu matora n'ibyifuzo bigezwa ku nzego za Leta n'izindi zifite uruhare mu migendekere myiza y'amatora. Uretse kwerekana uko amatora yagenze muri rusange, raporo ituma urwego rushinzwe amatora rurushaho gutegura neza amatora akurikiyeho rushingiye ku masomo, inama n'ibitekerezo byatanzwe.

Rushingiye ku itegeko rigenga amatora, urwego rushinzwe amatora ruteganya imirimo ikurikira yo gutegura imigendekere myiza y' amatora:

- *Gutegura ingengo y'imari no gushaka amafaranga*

Amatora, ayo ari yo yose, akenera ingengo y'imari ikoresheya mu bikorwa byayo binyuranye birimo kugura ibikoresho by'amatora.

- *Gutegura gahunda rusange y'amatora*

Rushingiye ku itegeko rigenga amatora n'umunsi w'itora wagenwe, urwego rushinzwe amatora rutegura gahunda rusange y'amatora igomba kubahirizwa umunsi ku munsi. Gahunda y'amatora igihe iteguwe neza kandi ikubahirizwa bituma amatora akorwa neza.

- *Gutegura amabwiriza agenga amatora*

Rushingiye ku itegeko rigenga amatora, urwego rushinzwe kuyobora amatora rutegura amabwiriza asobanura imigendekere y'amatora, imyifatire y'abayagiramo uruhare n'imikoreshereze y'ibikoresho by'amatora.

- *Kugena no kumenyekanisha ahazatorerwa*

Rushingiye ku itegeko n'amabwiriza bigenga amatora no ku byifuzo by'abaturage, urwego rushinzwe amatora rugena rukanamenyekanisha ahazatorerwa ku gihe.

- *Gushaka no guhugura abakozi bashinzwe imirimo y'amatora.*

Kugira ngo amatora akorwe neza, urwego rushinzwe amatora rushaka abakozi b'inyangamugayo bafite ubushobozi, rukabahugurira gutegura no kuyobora neza amatora.

- *Kwakira no kwemerera indorerezi z'amatora*

Igihe bibaye ngombwa, urwego rushinzwe amatora rwakira kandi rukemera indorerezi z'amatora rukaziha ibyangombwa biziranga ndetse n'amabwiriza zigomba kugenderaho mu gihe cyo gukurikirana ibikorwa binyuranye by'amatora. Ibi birushaho guha agaciro amatora n'ibiyavuyemo ndetse n'urwego rushinzwe amatora rugahabwa inama zinyuranye.

- *Gukangurira abaturage ibijyanye n'amatora*

Kugira ngo abaturage batore bazi neza impamvu batora ndetse n'uburyo baza bahabwa igihe gihagije cyo gusobanurirwa ibijyanye n'amatora nk'itegeko riyagena n' amabwiriza arishamikiyeho.

- *Gutegura ibikoresho by'itora no kubigeza ahatorerwa*

Rushingiye kuri gahunda y'amatora, urwego rushinzwe amatora rutegura ibikoresho byose by'itora rukanabigeza ahagomba gutorerwa hakiri kare kugira ngo ibyateguwe bikor mu gihe cyabiteganyirijwe.

- *Gutegura neza ibiro by'itora*

Urwego rushinzwe amatora, rwifashishije abaturage, rutegura neza ahatorerwa nk'uko itegeko cyangwa amabwiriza abiteganyye. Nanone hifashishijwe abaturage n'inzego zishinzwe umutekano, hagenwa uburyo buhagije bwo kurinda umutekano w'ahatorerwa

8.6. Abashinzwe imirimo y'amatora n'inshingano zabo

Amatora ni umurimo ukomeye ari na yo mpamvu abashinzwe imirimo y'amatora iyo ari yo yose na bo bagomba kugira inshingano zikomeye.

Muri rusange, urwego rushinzwe imirimo y' amatora rushobora kuba urwego rw'ubuyobozi cyangwa urwego rwigenga rushyirwaho n'amategeko.

Mu Rwanda, urwego rushinzwe gutegura no kuyobora amatora ku nzego z'ubuyobozi zitorerwa ni Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Amatora. Urwo rwego rufite inshingano zikurikira:

- Gutegura, gutunganya no gutanga inyigisho mboneragihugu zirebana n'amatora agomba gukorwa;
- Gushyiraho no guhugura abakozi n'abandi bantu bafite uruhare mu mirimo y'itora;
- Kugena no kumenyekanisha gahunda y'amatora hakiri kare;
- Kugena no gushyiraho uturere tw'itora;
- Kugena no gutegura ibikoresho by' amatora;
- Gutegura, kuyobora no guhagararira amatora;
- Gutanga amabwiriza ajyanye n'amatora;
- Kugena ahagomba gutorerwa, kuhatunganya no kuhamenyesha abaturage hakiri kare;
- Kugira uruhare mu gutegura imicungire y'umutekano w'ahatorerwa, abatora n'ibikoresho by'itora;
- Kugeza ibikoresho by'amatora ahagomba gutorerwa hakiri kare;
- Gucunga neza amafaranga n'ibikoresho bigenewe imirimo y'amatora;
- Korohereza abaturage mu bikorwa by'amatora;
- Gukorana neza n'inzego za Leta n'izindi mu gihe cy'imirimo y'amatora mu rwego rw'ubwuzuzanye.

8.7. Uruhare rw'inzego zitandukanye mu matora

Mu rwego rw'ubwuzuzanye, kugira ngo amatora akorwe neza, inzego zinyuranye zaba iza Leta cyangwa izigenga zigira uruhare mu bikorwa by'amatora ku buryo buziguye cyangwa butaziguye. Ubwo bwuzuzanye bugomba kubahiriza itegeko n'amabwiriza bigenga amatora. Urwo ruhare rugaragara mbere y'amatora, igihe cy'amatora na nyuma yayo.

Hakurikijwe imiterere n'imitegekere ya buri gihugu, zimwe mu nzego zigira uruhare mu bikorwa by'amatora ni izi zikurikira:

- Urwego rw'Ubutegetsi Nshingamategeko (Inteko nshinga Amategeko);
- Urwego rw'Ubutegetsi Nyubahirizategeko (Perezidansi ya Repuburika Guverinoma, Intara, Uturere, Imirenge n'Utugari);
- Urwego rw'ubucamanza (Urukiko rw'Ikirenga);
- Itangazamakuru;
- Amashyaka ya Politiki yemewe mu gihugu;
- Imiryango nyarwanda itegamiye kuri Leta;
- Ibihugu n'Imiryango Mpuzamahanga;
- Inzego zishinzwe by'umwihariko gutegeka, kuyobora no kugenzura amatora;
- Abaturage.

Inzego zivuzwe haruguru zigira uruhare rutandukanye kandi rwuzuzanya mu bikorwa by'amatora:

- ❑ Urwego rw'ubutegetsi nshinga mategeko rugira uruhare mu gushyiraho amategeko agenga amatora.
- ❑ Urwego rw'Ubutegegi Nyubahirizategeko rufasha cyane gutegeka, kuyobora no gutanga ibyangombwa kugira ngo amatora agende neza.
- ❑ Urwego rw'ubucamanza rugira uruhare mu ishyirwaho ry'amategeko agenga amatora, mu igenzura ry'imigendekere y'amatora n'itangazwa ry'ibyavuyemo.
- ❑ Amashyaka n'imitwe ya politiki bigira uruhare mu gukangurira abaturage ibijyanye n'amatora.
- ❑ Ibihugu n'Imiryango Mpuzamahanga bigira uruhare mu gutanga inkunga n'ibitekerezo ku matora.
- ❑ Imiryango nyarwanda itegamiye kuri Leta na yo igira uruhare mu kwigisha gukangurira abaturage iby'amatora.
- ❑ Inzego zishinzwe by'umwihariko gutegeka, kuyobora no kugenzura amatora ziratanganye hakurikijwe ibihugu binyuranye. Hari aho bikorwa na Minisiteri ifite

ubutegetsi bw'igihugu mu nshingano zayo, hari n'ahandi bikorwa n'inzego zihariye kandi zigenga nka Komisiyo y'igihugu y'Amatora mu Rwanda.

- Abaturage bagira uruhare runini mu bikorwa by'amatora. Mu Rwanda by'umwihariko, abaturage bagira uruhare rukurikira:

- Kugira uruhare mu itegurwa ry' itegeko ry' itora;
- Kwitabira kwiandikisha kuri lisiti y'itora no kwitwararika amak yabo y'itora;
- Kugira uruhare mu kugena ahazatorerwa;
- Kwitabira inyigisho ku burere mboneragihugu ku matora muri rusange n'imigendekere y'amatora by'umwihariko;
- Kugira uruhare mu itoranywa n' iyemezwa ry' abakandida;
- Gutunganya ibiro n'ibyumba by'itora;
- Gucunga umutekano w'ahatorerwa, uwabo bwite igihe bat n'uw'ibikoreshe by'itora;
- Kwitabira amatora ku munsu w'itora;
- Kugaragaza ibitagenda neza mu matora.

8.8. Ibishobora kubangamira amatora

Muri rusange, cyane cyane mu bihugu bikiri mu nzira y'amajyambere, hari ibintu byinshi bikunze kubangamira cyangwa bishobora kubangamira amatora.

Bimwe muri ibyo ni ibi bikurikira:

- Uburyo bwo gutora butatoranyijwe neza. Ubwo buryo buba bushingiye ku itegeko ry'amatora;
- Gutegura nabi lisiti y'itora;
- Gutegura nabi amatora;
- Amikoro make;
- Kudakangurira abaturage bihagije iby'amatora ngo bamenye neza bagomba gukora;
- Kudahugura bihagije abashinzwe kuyobora amatora;
- Gutegura no gukoresha amatora mu bihe bibi (imvura, igihe abantu bafite imirimo myinshi, umutekano muke); igihe ahatorerwa hadahagije ;
- Kubogama kw' abayobora amatora;
- Kwitwara nabi kw'amashyamba ya politiki cyangwa kw'abakandida;
- Kudakorana neza k'urwego rushinzwe amatora n'izindi nzego za Leta;
- Kutagira umuco wo kwemera ibyavuye mu matora akozwe mu mucyo no mu bwisanzure.

8.9. Ingamba zafatwa kugira ngo habeho amatora abereye u Rwanda.

Kugira ngo amatora mu Rwanda akorwe mu mucyo no mu bwisanzure hakwiraye gufatwa ingamba zikurikira:

- Uburyo bwo gutora bwagombye kuba bworoshye kandi butuma abatowe bagirirwa icyizere;

- Uburyo bwo gutora bwagombye kujyana n'ubushobozi bw'igihugu kandi bukaba bubereye abaturage;
- Kubera nanone ko amatora ari inkingi ikomeye ya demokarasi n'imiyoborere myiza, hakwiye gushakishwa uburyo buhagije ku rwego rw'umutungo, abakozi

bafite ubushobozi n'ibikoreshe;

- Hakwiye kubaho ingengabihe inoze y'amatora atandukanye kugira ngo azajye abera igihe kinogeye abaturage, ndetse binorohere n'izindi nzego za Leta kuyitegura;
- Mu rwego rwo kumenyereza Abanyarwanda umuco wa demokarasi, imiyoborere myiza n'amatora, hakwiye inyigisho z'uburere mboneragihugu zihagije;
- Ku buryo bw'umwihariko, imitwe ya politiki n'amashyamba byemewe mu gihugu, bigomba kugira uruhare rugaragara mu itegurwa n'imigendekere myiza by'amatora.

Muri make, kugira ngo amatora abe koko umusemburo wa demokarasi n'imiyoborere myiza mu Rwanda, hakwiye gushakwa uburyo n'ingamba bihamye byatuma Abanyarwanda basobanukirwa neza iby'amatora, impamvu yayo n'uruhare bagomba kugira mu gushyiraho ubuyobozi bubereye igihugu. Ibi byashoboka ari uko Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Amatora n'izindi nzego za Leta bashyize buri gihe imbere byatuma Abanyarwanda bagirira icyizere amatora n'ibiyavuyemo.

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UMUSOZO

Tumaze gusobanura uburere mboneragihugu Umunyarwanda wese akwiye kuba afite kugira ngo ashobore kubaka urwamubyaye, anarugeze ku majyambere anyuze mu muyoboro w'ibanze wa demokarasi, ari wo w'amatora.

Ikigaragara rero ni uko inyigisho z'uburere mboneragihugu ari ngombwa ku mpande zose .

Koko rero, nta gihugu gitera imbere birambye kidaha ikiremwamuntu agaciro gakwiye, kitagendera ku mategeko cyihaye gikurikije umuco, kidasubiza amaso inyuma ngo kirebe aho kivuye n'aho kijya, kitita ku mahame y'imiyoborere myiza, mbese kirirwa gihuzagurika nk'ikitagira gahunda, imigabo n'imigambi.

Nimucyo rero twese duhagurukire rimwe maze twubake urwatubyaye, twiheshe ishema iwacu no mu ruhando rw'amahanga. U Rwanda rwamamare, rusugire rusagarnbe, rugere ku mudendezo burundu rubikesha abana barwo bese, ari bo twebwe Abanyarwanda.